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ABSTRACT

Selections from the recent history texts of 13 foreign countries are contained in this document as an effort to gather the curricular perceptions of other countries about key events or periods in American history related to the U.S. Revolutionary War. The compilation provides American secondary teachers with contemporary source material not otherwise readily available for teaching about the American Revolution, especially during the period of the bicentennial celebration. The collection is useful to teachers interested in inquiry learning, a comparative approach to history, or international understanding. Each entry represents the treatment of the subject in the textbooks of the country. Selections are from France, West Germany, Argentina, Mexico, Canada, Ghana, Egypt, Israel, Japan, People's Republic of China, India, Great Britain, and the U.S.S.R. Each selection is translated into English and identifies source and grade level it is written for. Compilers' interpretations of the selection are limited and factual errors are not corrected. (Author/ND)

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The American Revolution

Selections From Secondary School History Books of Other Nations

Argentina
Canada
China, People's Republic of
Egypt, Arab Republic of
France
Germany, Federal Republic of
Ghana
Great Britain
India
Israel
Japan
Mexico
U.S.S.R.

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Office of Education
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Robert Leestma, *Associate Commissioner for Institutional Development and International Education*

The views expressed in the foreign texts included in this compilation are solely those of their respective authors, and should not be construed as representing the views--or reflecting the opinions, position, or policy--of the U.S. Government, nor should any official endorsement by the U.S. Government be inferred.

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FOREWORD

The birth of the American Republic was indeed a "shot heard round the world." Not only was it of major international significance at the time, but it remains an event of continuing interest and influence in the contemporary world. It is therefore not surprising that the American Revolution is included in the curriculum of the school systems of most nations.

This set of selections from the history texts of 13 of these nations is not the first nor will it be the last effort by educators to gather the curricular perceptions of other countries about key events or periods in American history. Indeed, as the appendix reveals, the Office of Education published its first report more than 80 years ago on how the American Revolutionary War was taught in the schools of other nations. The particular merit of the present compilation is that it provides American teachers with valuable contemporary source material not otherwise readily available for teaching about the American Revolution, especially during the period of the Bicentennial Celebration. Teachers interested in inquiry learning, a comparative approach to history, and/or international understanding can utilize the collection in a variety of ways to help students develop their analytical skills and broaden their understanding of American history and of factors which contribute to intercultural communication.

No special effort was made to select entries that emphasized similarities or differences with prevailing American perspectives on the Revolution. We simply sought selections representative of the treatment accorded the subject in the textbooks of a number of important nations around the world. While the various accounts reflect a range of views, it is interesting to note that taken as a whole the similarities far outweigh the differences when compared with American perceptions. This is probably because of the fairly widespread consensus among historians on many of the facts and interpretations concerning the American Revolution. Such convergences of opinion would seem less likely on various other events or periods.

While the material has general interest value in itself, achievement of its full educational potential is dependent upon how teachers utilize the various selections not only to deepen students' understanding of the American Revolution through the insights revealed by comparative perspectives, but also to develop their ability to think critically about history and communication, process and product. For example, teachers can use some of the selections to introduce students to such matters as how ideology and nationalism can be involved in the treatment of one country's history by the textbook writers of another. Other parts of the material can be used to help show how a country's own nationbuilding experience may tend to shape its perceptions of the development of other countries. The material is also of value to those interested in the images of America abroad and how the school systems of other countries help shape those views.

Such a collection as this naturally raises a question about the other side of the coin–how adequately do American textbooks and other educational materials represent key events or periods in the history of other nations? There is much fertile ground here for continuing collaboration between educators and historians that remains largely uncultivated.

To help explore need and stimulate interest in the study of how adequately American educational materials currently in use represent other countries, the U.S. Office of Education has supported some small but important demonstration projects in the past few years. One is concerned with the nature and adequacy of the treatment of Japan and another of Egypt in American schoolbooks, primarily at the secondary level. The others are concerned with the films and filmstrips about Japan and about Egypt available for educational use in the United States. The two projects concerned with Japan are completed; those dealing with Egypt are in process.

Clearly, much more needs to be done in developing educational materials which incorporate the important dimensions inherent in the comparative approach. The basic importance of the task to the total educational enterprise is such that it merits a higher priority on the Nation's research and development agenda and should not be dependent upon Federal funds. There is much room for initiative here by enterprising scholars and publishers.

There are also needs and opportunities for cooperation between and among nations on a bilateral, regional, or international basis. An excellent example of a bilateral effort is the joint project on mutual understanding between the United States and Japan which is being carried out under the auspices of CULCON, the special United States-Japan Joint Committee on Cultural and Educational Cooperation. Under the sponsorship of CULCON, and with the cooperation of the Japanese Ministry of Education, the U.S. Office of Education, and the East-West Center, a team of Japanese educators and scholars and a team of American educators and scholars are working separately and together to increase mutual understanding between the United States and Japan through the improvement of curriculum materials and methods in elementary and secondary education in both countries. The chairman of the U.S. Education Sub-Committee is Dr. A. Craig Phillips, Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of North Carolina. The chairman of the Japanese Education Sub-Committee is Dr. Isao Amagi, Special Advisor to the Minister of Education of Japan.

Examples of regional and international collaboration on related matters would include the project of the Organization of American States entitled "Can Man Transcend His Culture?", the Associated Schools Project of UNESCO, and the development of the International Baccalaureate.

A word about the origin and present scope of this volume is in order. A few years ago the international staff of the U.S. Office of Education looked ahead at various possibilities for program contributions to the Bicentennial Celebration. Dr. Robert Barendsen of the Comparative Education staff put forward the idea of compiling selections from the textbooks of other nations on the subject of the American Revolution. Within the constraints of time and funds available, Dr. Barendsen and his colleagues listed on the title page made all the arrangements for gathering, selecting, and translating the current materials. These tasks were shepherded throughout by Dr. Barendsen and special credit is due him for his unflagging persistence in seeing this part of the work through to completion.

The very interesting material in the appendix was brought to light at a later stage by the general editor of this compilation, Helen Wiprud, in the course of helping prepare another publication to be made available during the period of the Bicentennial Celebration. This volume will reproduce selections from the rich array of historical information on various facets of international education in the last third of the 19th century--from the founding of the U.S. Office of Education in 1867 to 1900--which are contained in the annual reports of the U.S. Commissioners of Education during that period.

The chapter printed in the appendix is drawn from the "Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1894-95" and contains extracts from 24 books of English history used at that time in the elementary schools of "other English-speaking peoples, especially in Great Britain." Its inclusion in this volume in advance of the publication of the other pre-1900 material adds a dimension of special historical interest and value to the comparative potential inherent in the initial undertaking. As the reader of the appendix will find, the early consensus on fact and interpretation, the general congruence with most present-day perceptions, and the essential fair-mindedness of the treatment all come through clearly.

The brief comments on this material given by Commissioner W. T. Harris in the introduction to that Annual Report 80 years ago is of sufficient interest to merit quotation:

> ### ENGLISH TEXT-BOOKS ON THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.
>
> Chapter XLIV of Part II deals with English methods of teaching the history of the American Revolutionary war, and was prepared in accord with the suggestions of the Hon. Samuel Plimsoll, late member of Parliament . . . . He believes that much ill feeling toward England has been engendered by the teachings of the school histories of the United States. Teachers of our national history in our schools will compare with interest the extracts from English text-books here given with the corresponding passages in our own text-books.

The comparative approach recommended in the last sentence remains valid today.

Here, then, is a baker's dozen of examples of how current textooks in other nations view the American Revolution, together with examples from a related collection published by the Office of Education a few years before the turn of the century. Making these international resources available to American educators in this convenient and inexpensive form is a U.S. Office of Education contribution to the Bicentennial Celebration which the international program of USOE is pleased to present.

Robert Leestma
Associate Commissioner for
Institutional Development and
International Education

January 1976.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It would be impractical to name each person in the different countries who assisted us in identifying, selecting, obtaining, and translating materials appropriate for this publication. But we would be seriously remiss if we failed to express our specific appreciation for the especially generous help we received from certain scholars and government officials. Without the aid of those individuals and organizations identified in the following paragraphs, the publication could not have been prepared in the short time period available for the purpose.

The selection from France included in this volume was obtained through the good offices of Mr. Jean-Pierre Guerin, Cultural Attaché of the French Embassy in the United States. Officials of the French School in Washington, D.C., were also helpful to us in the consideration of the French texts.

In identifying an appropriate selection to represent the Federal Republic of Germany in this collection, we were fortunate to be able to draw upon the extensive knowledge of Dr. Herwig Buntz of the German School Society in Potomac, Md. In addition to providing expert consultative advice, Dr. Buntz was also able to procure for us a copy of the book in which the material originally appeared.

With respect to the selection from the U.S.S.R., we are indebted to the Publications Procurement Office of the U.S. Department of State and its field officers at the American Embassy in Moscow, who sent us the textbook from which it was taken.

The Argentine selection was chosen from one of the textbooks forwarded by Mr. Rolando Costa Picazo, Executive Director of the Commission for Educational Exchange between the United States and Argentina, and the Office is most appreciative of his efforts. Miss Paula Durbin of the U.S. Embassy in Buenos Aires was also most helpful in facilitating procurement of the material.

Concerning the selection from Mexico, we are most appreciative of the cooperation of Dr. Josefina Vásquez de Knauth, Director of the Center for Historical Studies at the Colegio de Mexico, Mexico City, for her professional assistance in suggesting pertinent sections from several Mexican texts for our consideration, and in providing guidance in choosing a selection for use in this volume. Mr. William N. Lindsey, Jr., and Mr. Michael D. Zimmerman, of the United States Information Service, American Embassy, Mexico City, were most helpful in providing general assistance.

For the Canadian selection, we are especially grateful to Prof. Reginald Edwards of McGill University, who gave generously of his own time to assist us in identifying an appropriate piece for inclusion in this collection.

The excerpt from a Ghanaian history textbook that is included in this collection was supplied by Mr. S.K. Atakpa, on behalf of the Director of the Curriculum Research and Development Division of the Ghana Teaching Service. The good offices of Mr. Graham K. French, Cultural Affairs Officer of the American Embassy in Accra, were also very helpful in this matter.

In connection with the selection from Egypt, we wish to express our deep appreciation to Prof. Kalil Gezi, Chairman of the Department of Behavioral Sciences in the School of Education at California State University, Sacramento, and his colleague Prof. Makram

Samman. Professors Gezi and Samman not only assisted us immeasurably in identifying and obtaining the Egyptian selection, but also translated it from Arabic.

With regard to the selection from Israel, we are grateful to Prof. Randolph Braham of the City University of New York and author of this Office's publication, "Israel: A Modern Education System" (1966), and to Dean Nathaniel Katzburg and Dr. Chaim Genizi of Bar Ilan University in Israel for identifying and procuring an appropriate text.

Concerning the Japanese selection, we are particularly indebted to Mr. Isao Yamada and Mr. Seiichi Ogawa of the Japanese Embassy in Washington, D.C., and to Mr. Shigeo Miyamoto of the Ministry of Education in Japan. We also wish to thank Mr. Key K. Kobayashi of the Japanese Section, Orientalia Division of the Library of Congress, for translating the selection.

With respect to the selection from the People's Republic of China, we are especially appreciative of the assistance provided by Mr. Ivan Izenberg, Public Affairs Officer at the American Consulate General in Hong Kong, who alerted us to the material and procured for us a copy of the book from which it is taken.

In connection with the selection from India, we owe special thanks to Prof. Surgit Mansingh of the American University in Washington, D.C., and to Mr. Inam Rahman, Minister for Education and Science at the Indian Embassy in Washington. In New Delhi we received generous help from Mr. P.D. Poplai, Executive Secretary of the Educational Resources Center of the New York State Education Department, and the staff of the Ministry of Education's National Council of Educational Research and Training.

We are especially grateful to Mr. John Coope, Assistant Attaché (education) of the British Embassy in Washington, D.C., for his good offices in facilitating our communication with British officials concerning an appropriate selection to represent Great Britain; we are also indebted to the British Council, which supplied us with the book finally chosen for our purpose.

All translations not specifically mentioned were done by the U.S. Joint Publications Research Service, Arlington, Va.

PREFACE

For Americans reflecting on the significance of the American Revolution during the Bicentennial commemoration, it can be both interesting and instructive to consider how the Revolution is viewed by other peoples. One promising approach is to examine the way the Revolution is treated in history books in the secondary schools of other nations.

Texts at the secondary rather than the higher education level were chosen because secondary schools reach a much larger proportion of the population than do higher educational institutions, and because secondary schools within a given country usually present a more nearly standardized version of historical subject matter than is found in the more sophisticated and disparate materials used in colleges and universities. While resources were not available to undertake a comprehensive survey of the relevant material used in secondary schools in all nations, selections were compiled from 13 nations, including at least one leading country from each of the principal regions of the world. These selections were taken from history books that are widely used in their countries of origin.

Each selection is identified as to source and grade level, and is rendered in English translation when, as in most instances, the original is in another language. The presentation format follows that of the original as closely as feasible, with the pattern of headings and the original paragraphing retained. In the few instances in which reproduction of illustrations, maps, and diagrams in the original selection was practical and the substance sufficiently important, such material has been reproduced. All other graphics are represented in blue print, with the nature of the material indicated in boldface, and the caption and any additional commentary accompanying the item in the original rendered in italics. In order to preserve, insofar as practicable, not only a selection's original format but also its style, the translated material has not been polished into smoother forms of expression in English. Also, so that the texts may speak for themselves without undue interruption, compilers' notes and interpolations have been limited to the bare minimum necessary for clarity, and no attempt has been made to point out or correct factual errors in the selections.

In translated selections, extensive quotations from an American document (e.g., the Declaration of Independence) have been copied directly from the original English-language document to avoid the altered wording that sometimes emerges when a historical document is translated into a foreign language and then subsequently rendered back into the original language by a different translator.

Most of the selections cover events outside a narrowly defined time frame for the Revolutionary War (i.e., events that occurred before or after the period from the outset of the war in 1775 to the Peace Treaty of 1783). The reason for this is usually to be found in the original presentation from which the selection was drawn. In many instances, the section of the original source that was relevant for the purposes of this project covered not only the important events of the 1760's and early 1770's that are essential to understanding the more immediate causes of the conflict, but also some background material summarizing the development of colonization in North America from the beginning of the 17th century. In addition, the relevant section usually carried the narrative forward to cover the establishment of the Federal Government under the Constitution of 1787, and in a few cases encompassed some aspects of the period up to and somewhat beyond 1800.

Readers of this collection–particularly teachers and students–may find it interesting to (1) compare the differing interpretations of the significance of the events described; (2) note aspects that are included or omitted, emphasized or played down; (3) detect factual inaccuracies; (4) identify the parts of a selection that reflect the special perspectives of the country in which it is used; and (5) use the tutorial questions at the end of some selections to compare their knowledge of this period of American history with that expected of foreign secondary school students.

Finally, it should be noted that although the selection from each country is believed to be representative of the approach to the American Revolution in that country's secondary school history books, the selections as a group cannot properly be used in and of themselves as a basis for qualitative comparisons of secondary studies in the countries represented in the collection.

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1. FRANCE

The Formation of the United States[a]

In 1776 the English colonists of America revolted; they won their independence with the help of France and formed the Republic of the United States, the first free state in the New World.

- *The uprising of the English colonists.*
- *The French intervention.*

I. The Uprising of the English Colonists

1. The Origins of the Conflict

In the aftermath of the Treaty of Paris (1763), the English Government took several measures that greatly angered the American colonists. It forbade them, for fear of an Indian uprising, to settle in the country between the Ohio, the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi. This decision caused keen indignation among the speculators, who had hoped to get rich by buying land at low prices and reselling it at very high ones.

When one Indian tribe revolted, the London Government decided to maintain a small British army on a permanent footing in the 13 colonies. Also, the Governors, whose salaries had until that time been paid by the Assemblies of the several colonies, were henceforth to be paid by the Treasury in London, so as to make them more independent of the colonists.

To find the necessary revenues for these additional expenses, the English ministry decided to clamp down heavily on smuggling: in that way, customs duties would bring in more money. It then levied a new tax, called the stamp tax, which meant introducing to America the use of stamped paper sold at a profit by the English treasury (1765). The speculators, the merchants who were prospering on the smuggling trade, the lawyers, and the printers directly affected by the stamp tax stirred up violent riots, particularly in the colonies of Virginia, New York, and Massachusetts. Frightened, the English Government abolished the stamp tax and the agitation died down.

[Picture] *Burning stamped paper in Boston (August 1765). The Stamp Act made it mandatory to use special paper, stamped paper, or to affix a tax stamp to any document involving certain transactions. The stamps, which ranged in value from a halfpenny to £6, had to be affixed specifically to newspapers. In the House of Commons, only one member rose to protest against the tax, in a speech during which he referred to the Americans as the Sons of Liberty. The epithet spread like wildfire in America where the Stamp Act aroused bitter opposition. The printers, first of all, decided to publish their newspapers without stamps. Everywhere Sons of Liberty clubs were formed, which corresponded with each other and organized demonstrations. The most violent incidents occurred in Boston in August of 1765. The mob burned stamped paper, demolished a building under construction that was reportedly to house the Stamp Office, and completely ransacked the house of the Lieutenant Governor of the city.*

2. The Conflict Mounts

The agitation flared up again shortly after this, when new duties were placed on American imports of iron, paper, and tea by the London Parliament. Several purely local incidents, the scope of which was considerably exaggerated both in London and in

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[a] Compilers' Note.–Translated from Jean Michaud's *1715-1870, La Formation du Monde Modern.* Collection Jules Issac. Paris: Classiques Hachette, 1966. Pp. 96-102. Reproduced with permission from Classiques Hachette (publishers). The material is designed for the 9th year of a 12-year primary-secondary school cycle.

America, aggravated the conflict. First came what the colonists called the Boston Massacre (1770): some English soldiers, who had been stoned in the streets, fired on and killed four of the protesters. Then came the Boston Tea Party (1773): colonists disguised as Indians tossed into the harbor 340 cases of tea that had just entered the port. Furious, George III rescinded the charter of the Massachusetts colony and ordered the port of Boston closed until the people had paid the value of the tea. Massachusetts then appealed to the other colonies.

[Picture] *The Boston Tea Party (1773). When the English Government imposed a tax on tea, the Americans decided not to drink tea any more and the Sons of Liberty ordered ships' captains to deliver no more tea to America. In December 1773, three ships laden with tea sailed into Boston Harbor. After a great public rally attended by more than 7,000 people, the Governor of Massachusetts having refused to turn away the ships, some 50 men disguised as Indians boarded the ships and tossed 340 cases of tea into the harbor. The Boston Tea Party (December 18, 1773) aroused much enthusiasm in America. "This date will go down in history," wrote one of the witnesses that same night. Parliament then passed the "Intolerable Acts," which increased the powers of the colonial Governor and ordered the closing of the port of Boston until the jettisoned tea should be paid for. Twelve thousand troops were posted to Boston to make sure the Acts were obeyed.*

3. The Break With England

A congress made up of delegates from all the colonies–except Georgia–met at Philadelphia in 1774: in a Declaration of Rights, it affirmed the right of every English citizen not to be taxed without his consent. At the same time, the colonists were building up supplies of weapons everywhere. An English detachment that tried to seize one of these depots clashed near Boston with some American militiamen and lost about 250 men (1775).

That incident brought the final break. While George III was making up his mind to reduce the colonies by force of arms, the Philadelphia Congress assumed sovereign authority, raised troops, and gave command of them to a Virginia planter named Washington. The following year, in 1776, the colony of Virginia declared itself independent of King George III. A new Congress, on July 4, 1776, adopted the Declaration of Independence of the United States.

From then on, the only way to settle the conflict was by force.

[Picture] *Franklin (1706-90). The 15th child of a poor Boston candlemaker, Franklin educated himself and became the archetype of the self-made man—the man who has made himself what he is by his own labor. By turns a typesetter, printer, journalist, delegate to the Pennsylvania Assembly, and postmaster, he was, as we have seen, a very learned man. A canny diplomat, he was sent to Versailles in 1776; his mischievous good humor and the simplicity of his manners made him very shortly as well-loved among the people as he was in the Paris salons, and helped win France's alliance with the rebel cause in 1778. "Even in the palace at Versailles," recalls the first lady-in-waiting to the queen, "at the Sèvres porcelain show, they were selling a Franklin medallion under the King's very eyes. The motto on the medallion read. 'He stole the thunder from heaven'—an allusion to his invention of the lightning rod—'and the scepter from tyrants'." "These medallions, copies of which are being given out everywhere along with portraits, busts, and prints," wrote Franklin to his daughter, "have made your father's face as familiar here as that of the moon." Returning to America after the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, Franklin played an important part in drafting the Constitution of the United States (1787).*

4. Beginnings of the War for Independence

The war lasted almost 8 years. Each of the adversaries ran into serious difficulties. The English troops, partly composed of German mercenaries, were good and numerous; but they were fighting in an unknown land, almost without roads, and covered with immense forests where it was often impossible to get supplies or engage the enemy. As for the Americans, they were a long way from presenting a united front to the English. Very jealous of sovereignty, the 13 colonies refused to submit to a single government, even for the duration of the war. Moreover, loyalists.

big planters, and wealthy merchants, who wanted to keep an understanding with the mother country, existed side by side with those who favored the breach with England. This latter group came mostly from the more modest levels of society. Finally, the American army lacked arms and clothing; the volunteers would leave the front as soon as their term of enlistment had expired; the militia were reluctant to fight far from their homes; the generals were mediocre. Washington himself was no great military leader; it was rather because of his moral qualities, his firmness of spirit, his tenacity, and his self-sacrifice that he became the architect of victory.

The first 2 years of the war were bad ones for the colonists: the cities of New York and Philadelphia were occupied by the English. But, at the end of 1777, an English army moving down from Canada was encountered in the forest and forced to surrender at Saratoga. This victory restored courage to the Americans and, most important, it won them France as an ally.

[Picture] *George Washington (1732-99). Fleeing Cromwell's dictatorship, Washington's great-grandfather had emigrated to Virginia in 1657, and had acquired a vast estate on the shores of the Potomac. An officer in the Virginia militia, Washington was involved in the first episodes of the Canadian war in 1754. In 1759, when he married, he became one of the richest planters in Virginia. At his estate of Mount Vernon, Washington lived the life of a country gentleman. He loved horses, dogs, and coursing deer and foxes. He managed his holdings well, grew the best tobacco in the colony, and bought his clothes from London tailors. In 1774, he was one of Virginia's seven delegates to the Philadelphia Congress which, in 1775, made him commander-in-chief of the American troops. After the victory, he resigned his commission before Congress and returned to Mount Vernon. Sent as Virginia's delegate to the Convention called to draft the federal Constitution, he was elected president of the Convention, which adopted the proposal of the Virginia representatives as its basic document for debate. He was elected without opposition and unanimously as President of the Republic of the United States, and reelected, again unanimously, in 1793.*

II. The French Intervention

1. The French Alliance and Victory for the Insurgents

The American cause was very popular in France; already a number of gentlemen, including the Marquis de Lafayette, had gone to serve under Washington as volunteers. The [French] Government began by providing for the insurgents—that is what the rebeling colonists were called—clothing and arms; then in 1778 it signed a treaty of alliance with their representative in France, Franklin. The following year, Spain joined with France, hoping to get Gibraltar and Florida back from the English.

The war went on for 5 more years, in very different theaters. In America, where the struggle was shifting to the South, General Rochambeau's French corps helped the rebels to blockade an English army in the city of Yorktown, in Virginia, and to force it to surrender (October 1781). In Europe, the Franco-Spanish fleets managed neither to effect a landing in England nor to retake Gibraltar. In the Antilles, the French fleet, after initial victories, in 1782 suffered a severe defeat. Meanwhile, off the coast of India, [Admiral] Suffren several times defeated the English fleet and signed a treaty of alliance with a Hindu sovereign who was an implacable foe of the English.

At last, England gave in and signed the Treaty of Versailles [Treaty of Paris] in 1783. She recognized the independence of the United States, and ceded to it all the land between the Allegheny Mountains and the Mississippi; she returned to Spain the island of Minorca and Florida; she restored to France one of the Antilles and a few posts on the Senegal coast which had been taken from her in 1763, and at long last recognized France's right to fortify Dunkirk. Out of this long war, which had cost her enormous sums, France won only minimal advantages, but the Government was content to have restored French prestige and brought England low.

[Map] *The United States of America in 1783.* [Identifies the 13 original colonies; also indicates the additional territory ceded to the United States by England in 1783 and the remaining English and Spanish colonies in eastern North America.]

[Picture] *The Surrender of Yorktown (Oct. 19, 1781). The English army under Cornwallis, 8,000 men strong, was bottled up in Yorktown by Washington's army, the expeditionary force under Rochambeau, and the fleet under Count de Grasse. After 20 days of siege, Cornwallis surrendered. One sees him here riding between the American ranks, on the right, and the French, on the left. One can also make out Washington and Rochambeau standing slightly apart from the head of the ranks drawn up on parade.*

2. Organization of the United States

The American war had many consequences. The most important was the creation of a new state, the United States, the first free state ever founded by Europeans outside Europe.

After a lot of difficulties—a financial crisis, political and commercial squabbles between colonies, strong social antagonism between rich and poor—in 1787 the 13 States adopted a Constitution which, in its major outlines, is still in force today. Like the United Provinces[b] in Europe, the United States constituted a federal republic. Each State had its own institutions; but above those 13 State governments there was a federal government responsible for their common affairs: war, diplomacy, currency, and commerce. The executive power was vested in a president; the legislative power, in a Congress made up of two chambers—a Senate, in which each State has two representatives, and a House of Representatives, in which each State is represented by a number of congressmen proportional to its population. Finally, there were the federal courts, the highest of which is the Supreme Court.

3. Repercussions in America and in France

The example of the emancipation of the English colonies had profound repercussions. As early as the end of the 18th century, there were uprisings in Spanish America and, 40 years after the Treaty of Versailles, there was nothing left of the Spanish empire on the American continent. In France, the example of the United States was even more swiftly followed. The principles the French ***philosophes*** had argued and preached were the foundations of the Declaration of Rights in 1774 and again of the Declaration of Independence in 1776. The French had made those principles victorious in America; would they not make them prevail in France itself? Furthermore, the expenditures connected with the war had increased the financial difficulties: Louis XVI had to agree to summon the Estates General into session in 1789. And the convocation of the Estates General marked the beginning of the French Revolution.

[Picture] *Market Square in Philadelphia. In 1790, Philadelphia, with its population of 45,000, was the biggest city in the United States. It still had here and there, as this 1788 engraving shows, the look of a tranquil country town. Philadelphia played a major role in the struggle for independence, thanks to her central position. It was in Philadelphia that the Declaration of Independence was adopted (July 4, 1776), as well as the federal Constitution.*

Summary

- In 1774, an American Congress published the Declaration of Rights, and then, on July 4, 1776, another Congress proclaimed the independence of the United States.
- The early years of the war were hard for the Americans. But in 1777 they forced the surrender of an English army at Saratoga and that victory won them alliance with France.
- France, backed by Spain, declared war on England (1778). By the Treaty of Versailles (1783), England recognized the independence of her 13 American colonies and restored to France and Spain some of their colonies.
- The Republic of the United States gave itself a federal Constitution (1787). Its example spurred the emancipation of the Spanish colonies in America and in France it hastened the hour of the Revolution.

The Constitution of the United States

Article I

* * * * * * *

Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it becomes a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approves, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his Objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall . . . reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two-thirds of the House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent . . . to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. . . .

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[b] Compilers' Note.—At the time of the American Revolution, the "United Provinces" was a political entity in the area now known as the Netherlands.

* * * * * * *

Article II

The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress. . . .

* * * * * * *

He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur. . . .

* * * * * * *

This Article is very important. It is the Senate which, as the final authority, is the master of the country's foreign policy. In 1919, the Senate was to refuse to ratify the treaties signed by President Wilson at the close of the First World War. Moreover, the Constitution grants very extensive powers to the President. He governs with federal cabinet members of ministerial rank whom he names and dismisses at will. For 4 years he plays the simultaneous role of a Head of State and an irremovable prime minister. The United States does not, therefore, make use of the parliamentary system.

2. FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

[Map] *North America in the 18th Century.* [Three color-coded maps show the French, English, Spanish, and independent territories in North America in 1754, 1763, and 1783.]

The Fight for Independence in the English Colonies of North America[a]

The English Colonies in North America

A system of internal self-government had developed in North America's 13 English colonies that their Governors had to respect. These were appointed by the King in seven colonies while they were elected by the colonists in the remaining ones. Every citizen who had a major piece of land—and that was most of them—was entitled to vote. By the middle of the 18th century, most of the affairs of government were in the hands of the colonists. The great distance between the colonies and London alone meant that conditions in America developed in their own way.

The immigrants came from various European countries; religious belief and social position initially differentiated them from each other. But the new homeland confronted all of them with the same demands. Only the able ones could master the tough task of opening up the country. This is why ability and success became the decisive yardstick for the position of the individual in society.

The 13 New England States had about 250,000 settlers living in them around 1700; by 1775, there were 2½ million, including about 400,000 Negro slaves. Among the whites, about 1.7 million were of English origin. Agriculture was the most important branch of the economy. In the South, there were big sugar and tobacco plantations and later on mostly vast areas of cotton plantations. This is where most of the Negro slaves worked. The planters were the richest people in the colonies, followed by the merchants. But everybody was able to acquire property of his own, often through hard work at the very edge of the wilderness.

A French nobleman who visited the American colonies in 1759 wrote the following about the European immigrants and their life in America:

> Everything helps them in their regeneration—new laws, a new way of life, a new social order; this is where they become men. . . . The moment he (the immigrant) breathes the air, he makes new plans and starts out doing things he would never have dreamed of in his old home country. . . . The laws of this land take him protectively under their wing. Let everyone figure out for himself what kind of change must take place in the spirit and thoughts of this man. He begins to forget his former servitude and dependence. . . .

Tax Fight

England's victory in the Seven Years' War released the colonies from the French grasp.[b] No longer were the English settlers threatened from Canada and Louisiana. This is one reason why ties between the colonies and the motherland became looser. When England wanted to collect taxes in the American colonies in 1765, a dispute arose.

[Picture] *Thomas Jefferson.*

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[a] Compilers' Note.—Translated from Erich Goerlitz's *Das Werden der Modernen Welt (1648-1900).* Paderborn-Hannover: Schöingh-Schroedel, 1968. Pp. 63-67. Reproduced here with permission from Schöingh-Schroedel, (publishers). The material is designed for the 9th year of a 13-year primary-secondary school cycle.

[b] Compilers' Note.—The part of the Seven Years' War (1756-63) that took place in America is usually referred to in U.S. history as the French and Indian War (1754-63).

[Picture] *George Washington.*

Because the colonies had also benefited from the English victory, the English Parliament wanted to have them help pay the Government debts. The English settlers were of the opinion, however, that only representatives elected by them had the right to tax them. But the settlers did not participate in the elections for the English House of Commons, and so the English state could not tax away a part of their possessions ("no taxation without representation"). Representatives of several colonies met for the first time in 1765 and addressed a petition to the King and Parliament. In 1766, the English Parliament had to drop its taxation plans because tax collection had failed in the face of settler resistance. This situation repeated itself during the coming years.

Finally, the English Parliament confined itself to a single, small tax that concerned tea imports in order to preserve at least formally the principle of English tax authority. But it was precisely this taxing authority that the Americans did not want to recognize. The English Governor of Massachusetts wanted to force collection of the tea tax in Boston. Only after the cargo had been unloaded and taxed could the ships leave the port again. During the night of December 16, 1773, Americans dressed up as Indians threw the cargo of a tea vessel into the water. English punitive measures against Boston only increased resistance in all of the 13 colonies. Representatives from all colonies met for the first time in Philadelphia in September 1774. They decided to terminate trade with England. When a second Continental Congress was attended by representatives of all colonies in Philadelphia in 1775, there had already been warlike clashes between English troops and the American militia.

Fight for Independence

In the summer of 1775, the Second Continental Congress directed the prosperous tobacco planter George Washington (1722-99) from Virginia to establish an army. Washington, who had distinguished himself as an officer in the war against the French and the Indians, faced a very difficult task. Out of the militia forces he was to shape an army that could stand up to the English regular army. Accustomed to electing its officers and fighting only when and so long as it seemed absolutely necessary, the American militia was at first rather unsuited for a long war.

Washington persuaded Friedrich von Steuben, a former officer of Frederick the Great, to take over the job of giving the troops military training. Although cooperation among the colonies was poor, although Congress had no power to implement necessary measures, and although the number of volunteers remained small, Washington in the end overcame most of the difficulties.

[Map] *The United States Around 1800.* [Major map features identify the 13 original States, Maine, and Vermont; also the States formed in the territory ceded by England in 1783.]

After the first military success, the representatives of the 13 colonies on July 4, 1776, declared these areas to be independent of England. Together the 13 States formed the Republic of the United States of America. The Declaration of Independence was essentially written by Representative Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826) from Virginia. This trained lawyer was guided by the ideas of John Locke. The separation of the States from England was based on rights that are inherent in every person but that England would not have given the Americans.

The war lasted from 1775 until 1783. Support of the colonists by France, Holland, and Spain became the decisive factor. When more than 5,000 Englishmen capitulated in 1781, the war was decided in military terms.

Peace was signed in 1783. For the first time, citizen-soldiers had won a victory over hired mercenaries, although only with powerful foreign aid. The independence of the United States was recognized in the peace treaty. England retained Canada; the country west of the Mississippi fell to Spain, as did Florida.

From the American Declaration of Independence of July 4, 1776:

* * * * * * *

> We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just

powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. . . .

* * * * * * *

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States. . . .

The United States Constitution

During the war, most of the individual states had adopted constitutions that gave only little authority to the Congress as the federal authority. This resulted in considerable internal troubles after the war that could be overcome only through a Constitution for the entire Union. That Constitution materialized in 1787. Human rights, such as were found in the Declaration of Independence and especially in the Constitution of Virginia, became a part of the American Constitution. It implemented the separation of powers into a legislative, an executive, and a judicial branch. The state's mission was to secure the liberty of the individual.

[Diagram] *The United States Constitution.* [Schematic diagram shows the main elements in the structure of the Federal Government and the relationships between them, as they exist under the current (1970's) form of the Constitution.]

The Constitution left the individual States extensive internal independence but strengthened federal authority to such an extent that a federal state capable of taking action did arise. The President, who is elected for a 4-year term by the people, holds executive authority. The President and the government, which is made up of men who enjoy his confidence, thus do not depend on Parliament [Congress]. Legislative authority is exercised by Congress–Parliament. It consists of two chambers: the House of Representatives, the actual people's assembly, and the Senate, the body representing the individual federal States. The Supreme Court is the third authority here and it must see to it that all measures of the Government agree with the Constitution. To declare war, the President needs the approval of Congress; for treaties, Senate approval is enough.

George Washington was elected first President of the United States in 1789. It was due to his efforts and achievements that the new state soon grew strong internally in spite of considerable tensions. The [French] Declaration of the Rights of Man and the American Constitution became models for countries that wanted to build up a liberal democratic system. The American Constitution of 1787, later provided with several amendments, is still in force today.

The 3 million inhabitants were mostly farmers who lived far away from each other. Philadelphia, the biggest city, had about 30,000 inhabitants. Society here differed considerably from European society. There were no privileged classes. America did not experience the burden of an outdated form of society that made political life in Europe appear increasingly questionable. Anybody who worked in America could generally acquire property and thus also political rights. Thus, America became a model for dissatisfied Europeans. Out of the 30,000 German mercenaries who–sold into English service by their princes–had fought against the Americans, 12,000 remained in the country whose freedom and independence they were supposed to have prevented. Among the French, who fought on the side of the Americans, it was especially the Marquis de La Fayette (1757-1834) who was a convinced supporter of the new political ideas. Freedom, which had been implemented in America, was something that many citizens in Europe yearned for.

[Picture] *Hessian mercenaries, whose services were sold to England by their prince, are shown embarking for America.*

From the Contract on Soldier Service between England and a German petty prince dated Apr. 20, 1776:

The soldiers are completely at the disposal of the King of Great Britain . . . for use in his service in Europe and North America. . . .

8. As a recruiting fee, His Highness will be paid 30 Talers for every infantryman and every cannoneer. . . .

9. As usual, three wounded are counted as one dead man. A dead man will be paid for in accordance with the recruiting fee. . . .

10. Throughout the entire time that this corps (in this case 670 men) is in His Majesty's pay, His Britannic Majesty grants the most Serene Prince an annual subsidy of 25,050 Talers.

Summary

A rather highly developed system of local administration by the colonists already existed in North America's English colonies. Because they did not participate in elections to the English Parliament, they rejected taxation by England. From this resistance grew the War for Independence (1775-83) which was won as a result of foreign support, especially from France. The conviction that inspired the Americans was expressed most strongly in the Declaration of Independence of July 4, 1776. The Constitution of 1787 implemented the separation of authority into three branches. Human rights were a part of the Constitution. The individual's freedom was for the first time secured through constitutional law. Events in America became a model for the political hopes of many Europeans.

New concept: human rights

Remember the following event: 1776, U.S. Declaration of Independence.

3. UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

The War for Independence of the English Colonies in North America and Formation of the United States[a]

* * * * * * *

Reasons for the Colonies' Uprising Against England

As it guarded the English bourgeoisie against rivals, the English Parliament strove in every way to cramp the development of industry and trade in the American colonies. Parliament prohibited construction of ironmaking works in America and then the manufacture of any sort of fabrics, and it prescribed that they be imported readymade from England.

The poor farmers and workers were outraged in 1763 when the English King forbade movement into the Western territories so that the settlers on the lands of the English aristocrats would pay quitrent. But the colonists seized the land of the large landowners and repeatedly rebelled against the colonial authorities.

The Stamp Act was enacted in 1765. It put a tax on all trade transactions; there was even a high tax on every issue of a newspaper. The inhabitants of the colonies declared that the colonies were not represented in the English Parliament and that therefore Parliament had no right to impose taxes on them.

[Picture] *Colonists demonstrate against stamp taxes.*

The attempt to introduce the stamp tax led to an uprising of the people of Boston and other cities of the colonies. The officials collecting the taxes were tarred and feathered, lashed to long rails, carried under the deafening clangor of pans and buckets, or driven in wagons, and then the collectors were hanged in effigy from trees. Their household belongings were burned in bonfires. The resistance was so unanimous that the English Government revoked the Stamp Act. But soon Parliament imposed new taxes and sent armed forces to the American colonies.

The so-called Boston Massacre took place in this tense situation. It began when boys playing near the customs house began to throw snowballs at the English sentries. A crowd gathered to watch the spectacle. The English soldiers fired into it and killed several persons.

[Picture] *English troops shoot down residents of Boston in 1770.*

In 1773 English merchants brought a large shipment of tea to Boston. At this time Parliament had abolished the usual duty (customs) on tea imported into America, but at the same time imposed a small tax on it. Nevertheless, the inhabitants of the colonies were unwilling to acknowledge Parliament's right to impose taxes on them. Dressed up like Indians, inhabitants of Boston attacked the ships and hurled the cases of tea into the sea. Local inhabitants came to call this the Boston Tea Party. By way of punishment for this action the English Government proclaimed the port of Boston closed to trade, which caused an outbreak of resentment and was the proximate cause of the rebellion of the 13 English colonies in America.

In 1774 the American colonies sent their delegates to a congress in one of the largest cities in the colonies—Philadelphia. This assembly sent the King a request that he do away with the restrictions on trade and industry. The colonists also asked that taxes not be imposed on them without their consent. The King responded by declaring that a "revolt" had begun in the colonies; he sent armed forces to suppress it, and he demanded the complete submission of the colonies.

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[a] Compilers' Note.—Translated from A. V. Efimov's *Novaia istoriia, chast' I, uchebnik dlia vos'mogo klassa srednei shkoly* (Modern History, pt. 1, Textbook for the Eighth Grade of Secondary School). Moskva: Izdatel'stvo "Prosveshchenie" (Moscow: "Enlightenment" Publishers), 1970. Pp. 38-53. The material is designed for the 8th year of a 10-year primary-secondary school cycle.

[Picture] *Paul Revere.*

Commencement of Military Actions

Military engagements between the armed forces of the English King and the colonists began in the spring of 1775. This is the way it happened. The English sent from Boston two regiments of royal forces to seize rifles, wagon trains, gunpowder, bullets, and flour–in short, the entire secret military stores created by the American colonists. A detachment of English soldiers dressed in red uniforms marched out of the city at a measured pace. But the soldiers guessed that someone had informed the population about the military raid. And in fact Paul Revere, a highly skilled silversmith who was intelligence chief of the Boston Revolutionary Committee, had ridden his horse at top speed from Boston to raise the alarm. Alarm bells were rung and there were shots along the route of march of the English soldiers. Following a brief skirmish along the way a detachment of royal forces scattered the Minutemen–local inhabitants who were supposed to run with their arms to a meeting place within a minute after the alarm. The royal forces seized the cache of arms, but on their return trip the farmers fired upon them from behind trees and houses. The shooting intensified, and the withdrawal of the English became a disorderly flight. That is how the colonists began to use the tactics of extended order, the combat tactics of an armed populace in rebellion.

There was little gunpowder and lead; they used sheets of lead from roofs, later they even sawed up a lead statue of the English King; they rationed out the lead in sparing portions, and every soldier cast his own bullets according to the muzzle of his gun.

[Picture] *Rebellious populace hurls down statue of the English King.*

Congress named Col. George Washington (1732-99), a Virginia planter known to be a confirmed advocate of the liberation of the colonies from English oppression, to be commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the rebellious colonies. He was known as an outstanding organizer and the only important military specialist in the colonies.

In response to the demands of the commercial and young industrial bourgeoisie, farmers, craftsmen, and workers, one after the other the colonies began to declare their secession from England.

[Picture] *George Washington.*

Document

Excerpt From the Declaration of the Chiefs of Indian Tribes to the English Authorities in the Colonies in 1768.

> **Brother, we and our families have recently been living as if in hell, not knowing what to do. Wherever we look, everywhere we see our blood, and when our young men want to hunt game in our country, we come upon fences. They have become tired of climbing over them.**
>
> **They cannot take deer for food and tree bark for pots, since they are prevented from hunting animals, and the trees are being cut down.**
>
> **. . . The English, instead of protecting us, as we had hoped, are taking advantage of the fact that they are more cunning than we are, and they have deceived our people; they have begun to slaughter our people in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and throughout the country, and the merchants have begun to deceive us more and more, and now they care about nothing and no one. . . .**

* * * * * * *

[Picture] *Thomas Jefferson.*

Declaration of the Independence of the Colonies

Under the pressure of the masses, on July 4, 1776, the Congress adopted the Declaration of Independence; i.e., the declaration of separation from England.

The author of this document was Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826), an advanced thinker for his time and an outstanding political figure. Elected a member of the Virginia Legislative Assembly, he strove for the abolition of slavery. In England he was sentenced to death for a pamphlet against the King.

The Declaration of Independence said that England was oppressing its colonies in America and that the united colonies were seceding from England

and setting up an independent nation. All men are created equal, the Declaration stated. They are entitled to life, freedom, and the pursuit of happiness as their inalienable rights. The Declaration announced that the people itself had the right to establish authority and a government; *i.e.*, it proclaimed the idea that the people itself is the source of power—the idea of popular sovereignty. The proposition that the people itself can set up a government was aimed against the power of the King, against the monarchy, and it signified recognition of the republic. On the other hand, this same idea was aimed against colonial oppression. The Declaration proclaimed the equality of man and nations. Thus, the founders of the American republic condemned colonial oppression and colonialism.

[Map] *Revolutionary War in North America, 1775-83.* [Map locates major American, English, and French military actions.]

[Picture] *Soldiers of Washington's army winter in the field.*

But the bourgeoisie used the progressive ideas of the Declaration to reinforce the power of the wealthy, provided also that they were white. The Declaration did not abolish slavery and did not put an end to annihilation of the Indians and their being driven from their land, and it preserved the exploitation of hired workers. The former colonies proclaimed themselves to be States, and they formed a union—the United States of America.

Course of Military Operations

The war continued until 1782. The English managed to take the capital of the seceding colonies—Philadelphia. The American soldiers wintered in the open field in bitter cold weather. They did not have enough arms, money, footwear, or clothing. Bloody footprints on the ice and snow indicated the paths taken by Washington's barefoot soldiers. It was not easy for Washington to achieve discipline in an army consisting of brave, but unclothed, farmers and craftsmen.

Several thousand Negro slaves fought against the English in the ranks of the colonists. They fought courageously and valiantly. One detachment of Negroes died to the last man in putting up a defense in the State of New York. A Negro woman named Gannet from Massachusetts put on men's clothes and fought heroically for 17 months in one of the regular regiments.

Rich landowners, some of the slaveowners, and the royal civil servants opposed the colonists in their fight for independence.

[Picture] *Benjamin Franklin.*

The farmers and craftsmen were the principal strength of the colonists. The revolutionary bourgeoisie led the struggle against the royal forces and the aristocrats.

In order to augment his armed forces the English King hired from the German princes about 30,000 soldiers, whom he sent to America. He wanted to hire from Catherine II in Russia another 20,000 soldiers, but in view of the strained relations between Russia and England and the recent peasant war led by Pugachev, the Empress refused to send the soldiers to America.

Taking advantage of the old enmity between the two colonial states, England and France, the Americans obtained a treaty of alliance and armed aid from France. In order to obtain France's aid, the Congress of the United States sent as its ambassador to Paris Benjamin Franklin, an outstanding scientist, diplomat, and public and political figure who had participated in writing the Declaration of Independence. Progressive social circles in France were ardently sympathetic with the struggle of the Americans to free themselves.

[Map] *The United States in 1783.* [Major map features identify the 13 original States and the territory acquired under the peace treaty of 1783.]

The aristocrat Lafayette, for example, fitted out a warship at his own expense, called it the *Victoire* (Victory) and sailed for America against the King's prohibition, and there he fought in the revolutionary forces.

In 1781 the main forces of the English surrendered to Washington at Yorktown. The peace was signed in 1783. The English recognized the independence of the colonies, 100,000 English aristocrats and members of their families were expelled from the United States, and their land was confiscated and put up for sale. That was the end of the war for independence that Lenin called the revolutionary war "of the American people against the plundering English, who had oppressed America and held it in colonial bondage."[1]

Thus, during the Revolutionary War, in the course of a fierce class struggle, power in the United States passed from one class to another–from the aristocratic landowners to the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie of the North, which ruled in an alliance with the slaveowning planters of the South.

This signified that a bourgeois revolution had taken place in the United States. A republic was set up, the equality of all before the law was proclaimed, and slavery was gradually abolished in the northern States. But the capitalists and slaveowners took advantage of the people's victory to strengthen their own domination.

Shays' Rebellion (1786-87)

The war was devastating to many farmers. After the war there remained an enormous Government debt, which the Government decided to pass on to the farmers by raising taxes. The livestock, houses, and land of the indebted farmers began to be sold for back taxes. In response the farmers and city poor, mainly craftsmen, in a number of northern States began an uprising that was headed by Daniel Shays, a participant in the War for Independence. Rebels numbering some 12,000 to 15,000 men took up arms in September 1786. They demanded that debts not be collected from farmers and that their houses and livestock not be sold. The poor farmers and poor people in the cities–factory workers, day laborers, and craftsmen–presented their own demands. Some of the rebels demanded that the money of the rich be divided equally among the poor and that the rich man be forced to work like the common people. It took the armed forces of the United States half a year to suppress this rebellion. Unbeknownst to the people, the bourgeoisie of the North and the slaveowning planters of the South worked out a constitution in 1787 in order to strengthen their power; by and large it is still in force today.

The Law Setting Up the Government–The Constitution (from the Latin word *constitutio*–establishment).

After independence was proclaimed, every State became a separate nation with its own armed forces, finances, and customs boundaries. These almost independent States sent their representatives to a Congress that had little power.

Under the 1787 Constitution the central power was strengthened, but the States retained considerable independence in local affairs.

[Picture] *Daniel Shays' rebellion. The illustration portrays the moment when the rebels seized a courthouse. Shay is standing on the steps with arms akimbo and is preventing the judges from entering the building.*

Under this constitution a President elected for 4 years became the chief executive authority in the country. He commanded the army and navy, ran the government, and appointed officials–in short, he had enormous authority. Washington was elected the first President.

The American parliament–Congress–enacts laws, which are subject to approval by the President. Congress consists of two houses. Deputies are elected to the lower house–the House of Representatives–according to the number of inhabitants in each State. The upper house of Congress–the Senate–consists of representatives of the States (two from each).

The American Constitution reinforced the domination of the large bourgeoisie and slaveholders. A number of the basic principles of the new American Constitution and of the State constitutions were manifestly aimed against the masses of people. In almost all the States one had to have property–land or capital–in order to obtain the right to vote. Women, slaves, and Indians did not enjoy suffrage.

In 1791 the United States Constitution was supplemented by the Bill of Rights. This law recognized the rights of citizens to freedom of assembly, freedom of speech, and freedom of conscience; i.e., the freedom to profess any religion or to renounce religion altogether. Arbitrary arrests without court order were prohibited.

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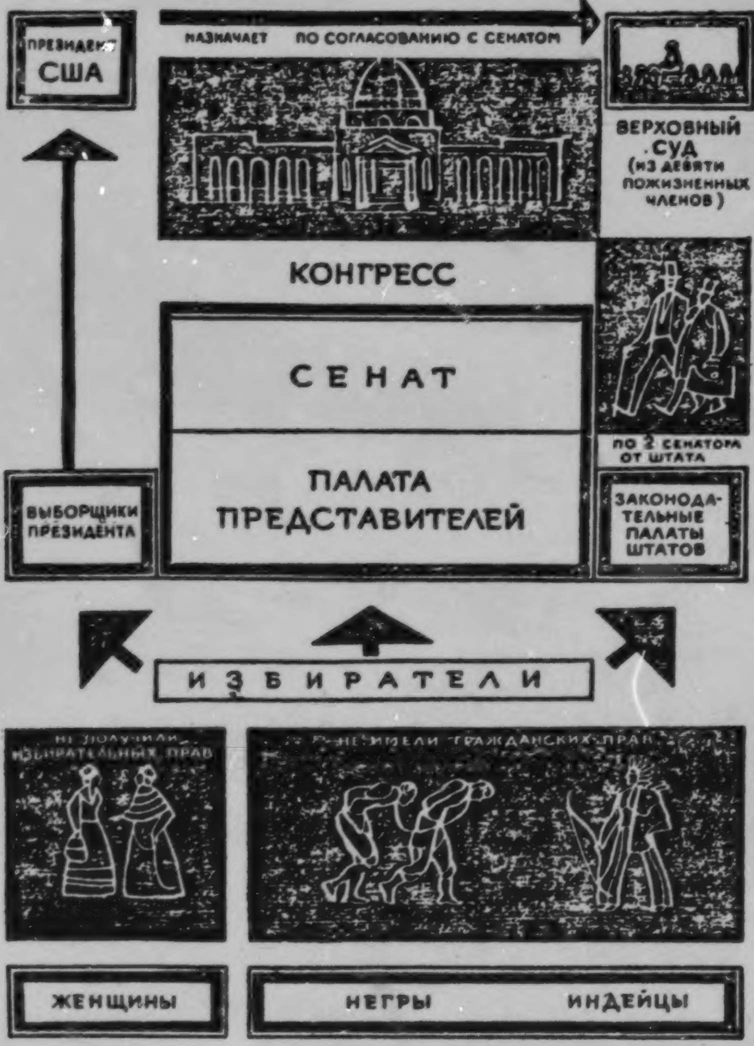
[1] V.I. Lenin. *Polnoe sobranie sochineniy* (Complete Works). Vol. 37, p. 48.

Высшие органы власти в США по конституции 1787 г.


ПРЕЗИДЕНТ США
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НЕ ИМЕЛИ ГРАЖДАНСКИХ ПРАВ
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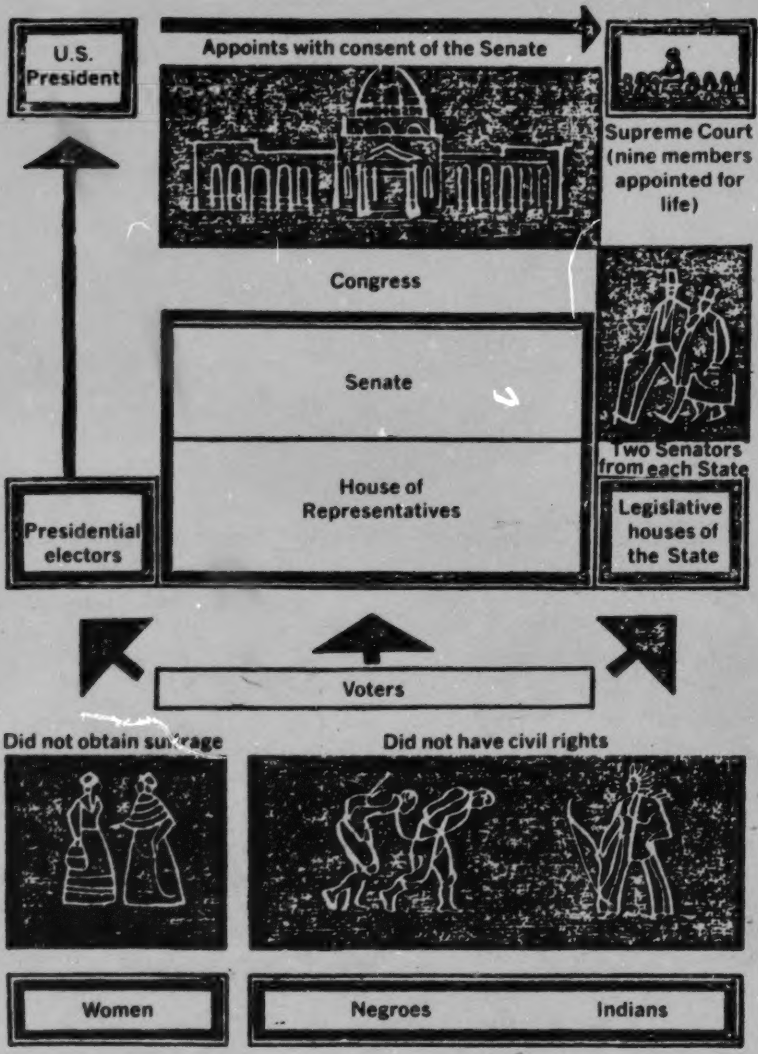
Supreme Governmental Bodies in the United States Under the 1787 Constitution.


U.S. President
Appoints with consent of the Senate
Supreme Court (nine members appointed for life)
Congress
Senate
House of Representatives
Two Senators from each State
Presidential electors
Legislative houses of the State
Voters
Did not obtain suffrage
Did not have civil rights
Women
Negroes
Indians

These "freedoms" exist even now on paper, but they are constantly violated.

The Supreme Court, consisting of members appointed for life, was given large authority. This court could quash any American law by declaring it unconstitutional. The United States Supreme Court repeatedly supported the slaveowners and bourgeoisie in their struggle against the popular masses. With its help the American capitalists succeeded on many occasions in having worker strikes declared illegal, and they dealt harshly with the revolutionary workers.

The land that previously had belonged to the Indians was proclaimed the property of the new States and put up for sale.

So-called bourgeois democracy was established in North America under the name "popular sovereignty" (democracy), but it is actually the rule of the bourgeoisie.

The fervent Russian revolutionary A. N. Radishchev welcomed the struggle of the Americans for independence, but condemned the capitalist system in the United States. In 1790 he wrote that in America there were "100 proud citizens in luxury for the thousands who had no reliable means of subsistence and no shelter of their own against the intense heat and cold."

Nevertheless, the War for Independence did advance the development of the United States. The former English colonies became a republic. England was no longer able to hold back the development of American industry and trade. Customs were abolished among the former colonies, which now had become States, and this accelerated the development of trade relations. But since slavery had been preserved throughout the South, it subsequently, almost 100 years later, brought the United States to a new revolution, a civil war–the war between the North and the South.

Documents

1. Excerpt From the Declaration of Independence (adopted by the Continental Congress on July 4, 1776).

> When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station . . . a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.
>
> We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government. . . . Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries . . . all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.
>
> He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States. . . .
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> He has . . . sent hither swarms of Officers to harrass our People and eat out their substance.
>
> He has . . . [given] his Assent to their acts of . . . legislation:
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:
>
> For imposing taxes on us without our Consent:
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.
>
> He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress . . . in the Name, and by Authority of the . . . People of these Colonies . . . declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is . . . totally disolved. . . .

Questions on the document: 1. What oppressions of the colonies by England are noted in the Declaration? Support these assertions with facts known to you. 2. What propositions in the Declaration have important and progressive significance?

2. Washington on the Necessity of the Constitution, Which Would Be a Means of Struggle Against Popular Movements (from Washington's letter to a U.S. statesman in 1786).

* * * * * * *

A letter which I have just received from Genl Knox [Secretary of War],[b] who had just returned from Massachusetts (whither he had been sent by Congress consequent of the commotion in that State) is replete with melancholy information of the temper, and designs of a considerable part of that people. Among other things he says, "there [sic] creed is, that the property of the United States, has been protected from confiscation of Britain by the joint exertions of *all*, and therefore ought to be the *common property* of all. And he that attempts opposition to this creed is an enemy to equity and justics, and ought to be swept from off the face of the Earth.

* * * * * * *

"They are determined to anihillate [sic] all debts public and private. . . .

* * * * * * *

"The numbers of these people amount in Massachusetts to about one fifth part of several populous Counties, and to them may be collected, people of similar sentiments [from neighboring States][c] . . . so as to constitute a body of twelve or fifteen thousand. . . ."

* * * * * * *

. . . [T]he consequences of a lax, or inefficient government, are too obvious to be dwelt on. . . . [W]hereas a[n] energetic Constitution . . . might restore us to that degree of respectability and consequence, to which we had a fair claim. . . .

Questions on the document: 1. What is Washington referring to as "disorders"? 2. What were the demands made by the rebellious farmers? 3. What was Washington's (and Gen. Knox's) attitude toward the rebels? 4. What were they especially afraid of?

Questions

1. Why was the war of the American colonies at the same time a bourgeois revolution? What was the principal peculiarity of this bourgeois revolution? 2. Which classes were the driving force (revolutionary classes) of the American bourgeois revolution? Which class was the leader? What role was played by the masses of people in the revolution? How was the question of the people as the source of power related to the question of the right of the colonies to secede from England? 3. What are the basic principles contained in the Declaration of Independence? 4. In what way was the Declaration of Independence progressive for its time, and in what way was it limited? 5. Show through the example of the American bourgeois revolution in the 18th century (War for Independence) why the bourgeoisie could not long rally the masses of people around it and why the split occurred after the victory of the bourgeois revolution between the bourgeoisie and the masses of people. 6. How were the supreme governmental authorities of the United States arranged under the 1787 Constitution? In what way was American democracy progressive as compared to the monarchies in Europe? 7. In what way did the American Constitution insure the interests of the plantation owners and the bourgeoisie and in what way did it restrict the rights of the people? 8. What similarities and differences are there in the causes of the bourgeois revolutions in England and North America?

Assignment for Independent Work Related to [This] Chapter

1. Run down the following terms and explain their meanings: Stamp Act, Declaration of Independence, Constitution, United States Congress, House of Representatives, Senate, Supreme Court, and Western territories. 2. Compile a chronology of the principal events of the War for Independence in North America. 3. Write the names of the leaders of the War for Independence and indicate the role played by each. 4. Indicate the territory of the original 13 States and the territory of the United States according to the 1783 peace treaty on an outline map showing the present boundaries of the United States.

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[b] Compiler's Note.–Bracketed phrase from the original selection.

[c] Compilers' Note.–Ibid.

4. ARGENTINA

The Revolution of the United States of America[a]

In the mid-18th century, there were 13 important English colonies along the North American coast, the population of which increased steadily, already exceeding a total of 2 million inhabitants: Englishmen, Frenchmen, Huguenots, Scotsmen, Irishmen, and Germans. Their industries and trade flourished and relations among them became ever closer. Although there was great similarity between the colonies, it was possible to distinguish three different groups, according to their location and way of life: the colonies of the North, the Center, and the South.

The colonies of the North were populated for the most part by Puritans, devout believers who continued to observe the biblical precepts strictly. Their industriousness was applied to small, well-kept farms. They traded across the ocean with Africa and the West Indies.

In the colonies of the South, such as Georgia and the Carolinas, a small group of landowners of the Anglican faith lived in luxury on their large plantations, where thousands of workers raised tobacco, cotton, and rice. That small number of privileged owners of great fortunes had a large number of laborers, some free and others slaves, but all lacking the most basic possessions.

In the colonies of the Center, among which were New York and Pennsylvania, there were Anglicans and Puritans, who lived in the country and in the city and were engaged in industry and commerce. Their inhabitants came from various countries in Europe, attracted to America in large part by its religious toleration.

In the mid-18th century, the colonies proved their loyalty to England by fighting against France (1754-63). Nevertheless, shortly thereafter, the first difficulties erupted between England and its American dependencies.

A series of navigation, trade, and industry acts that had been promulgated since the mid-17th century reserved to England the benefits of the colonial economy. These restrictions were resisted by the Americans, although up to the mid-18th century they had been enforced with great leniency.

The colonial wars had given the North Americans an awareness of their military strength, and the most eminent military leaders and most disciplined soldiers of the Revolution were trained in those wars.

King George III established customs duties on wine, silk, and coffee that the colonies imported from non-English countries. Thus began the ill-feeling between England and its North American dependencies (1764).

Since these measures did not have the hoped-for results, new taxes were established to be imposed on the inhabitants of the colonies. Some members of Parliament opposed this, but the King, controlling the majority, had the Law of Stamped Paper (Stamp Act) approved in 1765. This paper of nominal value was declared mandatory for all matters of a juridical nature.

The colonies objected that the English Parliament did not have the right to impose taxes on them because they lacked representation in it.

Resistance was unanimous and Parliament annulled the law in 1765. But in 1767 it approved customs duties on the importation of various articles, among them glass, paints, and tea, whatever the place of their origin. Colonial resistance reawakened in the form of speeches, publications, smuggling, the boycott of British products, and the insulting of British officials.

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[a] Compilers' Note.–Translated from Oscar Secco Ellauri's *Los Tiempos Modernos y Contemporáneos* (5th ed.). Buenos Aires, Argentina: Editorial Kapelusz, 1969. Pp. 140-48. Reproduced with permission from Editorial Kapelusz (publishers). The material is designed for the 9th year of a 12-year primary-secondary school cycle.

English forces and peaceful citizens clashed in Boston and several of the latter lost their lives. The Boston Massacre in 1770 intensified feelings against "British tyranny." Parliament abolished the disputed customs duties except that on tea, because King George wanted to preserve the principle that Parliament had the right to impose duties on the colonies (1771). Thus the colonists triumphed once again, since in practice retention of the duty on tea was unimportant because that product was imported as contraband from Holland. But shortly thereafter, a monopoly for the sale of tea in the colonies was granted to the English East India Company and the smuggling of tea from Holland was curbed. Resistance was reawakened in 1773, and in the port of Boston a group of Americans disguised as Indians threw a cargo of English tea overboard. Parliament then voted a series of laws closing the port of Boston, banning public meetings, and establishing severe penalties for anyone who used violence against English officials; and General Gage, commander of the English troops in North America, was named Governor of Massachusetts. The city of Boston as well as the colonists of Massachusetts asked the other colonies for help, and all except Georgia named delegates to a Congress that would advise what course to pursue.

[Picture] *The inhabitants of the British colonies in North America objected to paying a stiff duty on tea. In Boston, a group of disguised youths threw a shipment into the sea, thus setting off the independence movement.*

Among the Congress delegates were George Washington, who was a member of the Virginia delegation, and John and Samuel Adams, members of the Massachusetts delegation, who had gained fame through their publications and speeches on behalf of the "rights of the Americans." A month later the Second Continental Congress met: peaceful negotiations had failed and George Washington was named commander-in-chief of the so-called Continental Army that had just confronted the English, and war was declared against Great Britain in 1775.

George Washington (1732-99). – He belonged to one of the richest and most prominent families in Virginia. After studying land surveying he entered the militia, distinguishing himself in the wars against the Indians and the French. He also participated in the legislature of his colony and in the Philadelphia Congress. He was a man of singular intellectual and moral qualities. Courageous, industrious, prudent, and firm, he quickly gained great authority among his compatriots, who recognized him as the indisputable leader. First, his military action as supreme commander of the North American armies, and later, his political activity as first President of the United States of America, enshrine him as the founder of North American independence. He was, as one of his contemporaries said, "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

[Picture] *George Washington, from a Gilbert Stuart portrait kept in the White House, seat of the United States Government.*

The War for Independence

The Second Continental Congress declared that it was making war on Great Britain to recover the rights that belonged to the Americans as British citizens, thus proclaiming its loyalty to the mother country. But George III declared the insurrectionists to be rebels and sent troops to subdue them.

The attitude of George III strengthened the advocates of independence, known as "patriots," who initially were a minority but eventually became predominant.

The first armed actions between the British and Americans in Boston and on the Canadian border explain why, only 1 year after the opening of hostilities, a Third Continental Congress meeting in Philadelphia would proclaim the independence of the United States of America.

The Declaration of Independence of the United States of America

This declaration was drafted by a committee that included Benjamin Franklin, famous for his activities in the field of science and for his negotiations as a diplomat in Europe, and Thomas Jefferson, a famous political writer.

[Picture] *Jefferson (standing) discusses the text of the Declaration of Independence with Franklin and other patriots.*

The formal Declaration explained the reasons that led the North American people to break away from England and enumerated in detail the aggressive acts of George III, whom it termed "unfit to be the ruler of a free People." "These United Colonies," it concluded, "are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; . . . they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and . . . all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved." And in fulfillment of the resolutions, the members of the Congress declared that they pledged their "Lives, . . . [their] Fortunes and . . . [their] . . . Honor."

[Picture] *The Declaration of Independence of the United States of America was signed on July 4, 1776. After this ceremony, the fighting with the English continued.*

The Declaration, which reverberated throughout the world, proclaimed three fundamental principles. The first states that all men are endowed by God with certain natural rights, such as life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. These so-called natural rights would later be embodied in the French Revolution's Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizens. The second declared that "Governments . . . [derive] their just powers from the consent of the governed." Finally, it stated that it is legitimate to overthrow a government by force of arms and establish another in its place when it does not respect natural rights.

The Declaration of Independence lifted the spirits of the patriots, who had suffered several defeats. A year later, in 1777, they won their first major victory at Saratoga, forcing the surrender of an English army coming from Canada.

France was eager to avenge the defeats it had suffered in America a short time before at the hands of England, and the cause of American independence had been well received there, to the point that some nobles, such as the Marquis de Lafayette, had enlisted as volunteers in the ranks of the patriots. The victory of Saratoga facilitated the diplomatic negotiations of Benjamin Franklin in Paris. In 1778 the French Government recognized the independence of the United States of America, with which it signed a treaty of commerce, friendship, and alliance. Shortly thereafter, Spain and Holland adhered, and the Anglo-American conflict became a European one. The entrance of France into the war was decisive, since French financial and naval support combined to achieve the American victory.

[Picture]- *The Americans had to fight resolutely to obtain their independence, since the English were determined to maintain their domination over the colonies; in 1777 the defenders of independence gained a great military victory in Saratoga. The engraving shows the surrender of English General Burgoyne there.*

The war lasted 5 more years because the English defended themselves vigorously in the southern colonies, where the majority of the large landowners sympathized with them. The conflict was decided when the combined action of the French navy and an American army forced Yorktown, in Virginia, to surrender in 1781. Negotiations culminated in the Peace of Versailles, signed in 1783.

England recognized the independence of the United States of America.

The Constitution of 1787.—A Convention meeting in Philadelphia drafted the Constitution of 1787 which, with some amendments, still governs the United States of America.

The Convention named Washington President, and the latter's prudent action contributed to eliminating the violent opposition that appeared to impede approval of a constitution.

The Constitution of 1787 created a federal and democratic republic, organizing, on the one hand, the central government with its legislative, executive, and judicial powers, and on the other, the relationships among the States of the American union.

This Constitution, because of its democratic and republican nature and its structure, which for the first time embodied the division of powers, influenced Europe through the French Revolution, and the rest of America at the time when Latin American independence was effected.

5. MEXICO

The Emancipation of the United States[a]

1. *Basic Causes of the Emancipation of the United States*
2. *The Struggle for Independence in North America*
3. *Results*

1. Basic Causes of the Emancipation of the United States

The liberal ideas prevailing during the 18th century found a particularly fertile field in which to develop in the 13 English colonies of North America.

The colonists, particularly those in the central and northern colonies, had tried to abolish political and social privileges. They had established their own assemblies, elected democratically, to vote on taxes and local laws, though these had to be approved by the English Crown. Two colonies, Connecticut and Rhode Island, had obtained the privilege of electing their own Governor, while the others continued under a Governor and a council imposed by England. The democratic ideas and the spirit of adventure of the colonists made them dream of having representation in Parliament, to be able to have a voice in the decisions regarding the needs of the colonies, both administrative and economic. The restrictions on commerce and industry imposed on the colonies, and the taxes on foreign trade fixed by the mother country, were irritating to the colonists, who were familiar with not only the English tradition of freedom but the ideas prevalent in Europe. The decisions of the English Government relative to navigation laws and the Law on Commerce were frequently violated by the colonists because of the distance between them and England and the democratic spirit fostered and developed by local autonomy. The principles proclaimed by the English and French philosophers, asserting that human beings have the right to happiness, liberty, equality, and fraternity, were truths that were felt and embraced by the inhabitants of North America.

The colonists proclaimed their rights whenever they felt sufficiently strong to do so. Consciousness of their power and destiny continued to develop during the Seven Years' War, in which they had participated successfully on the side of the English troops, acquiring new experience in military tactics in fighting against the Indians and Europeans.

The English soldiers, considering themselves superior to the American volunteers, had frequently provoked the indignation of the colonists, who had already demonstrated their effectiveness and skill.

The Seven Years' War in North America (1756-63).—Canada or New France, on the one hand, and Virginia, on the other, had coveted for years the Ohio Valley.

The French needed it to travel easily from Canada to Louisiana. Accordingly, they began the work of fortifying along the Ohio, wanting to preserve direct communications between their two colonies. The colonists of Virginia and Pennsylvania watched the French advance with hatred, since they understood that if it were permitted, it would be impossible to extend their own frontiers to the west. In addition, commerce in the interior of North America was carried out by river navigation, on the Mississippi and St. Lawrence Rivers, both of which were controlled by France. The English colonists were friendly with the Iroquois, owners of the territory of the Six Nations. In spite of this, the French advanced along the Ohio Valley and built a series of forts showing their desire to hold the land through which they passed. After a series of clashes between the French and English colonists, the former took Fort Duquesne. George Washington, a colonist from Virginia, was sent to negotiate with the soldiers of the fort. During the talks, a French officer and nine of his men were killed. It was never known exactly what happened during the encounter. The French declared it was a surprise attack, and Washington asserted he had acted in self-defense.

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[a] Compilers' Note.—Translated from Ida Appendini and Silvio Zavala's *Historia Moderna y Contemporánea.* Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1974. Pp. 229-48. Reproduced with permission from Editorial Porrúa. The material is designed for the 10th year of an 11- or a 12-year primary-secondary school cycle.

The English hastened to construct Fort Necessity, 50 kilometers from Fort Duquesne. In 1754, the French attacked it, and its commander, Washington, had to withdraw.

The representatives of the colonies and the Iroquois held a meeting at Albany. Benjamin Franklin, the American physicist, tried to convince the colonists to unite and elect a council of defense to oppose the French fortification of the Ohio, but he did not achieve the desired objective. France and England, for their part, ordered their colonists to defend themselves and sent troops to reinforce them.

In the war, the English colonists used the Iroquois, who were enemies of the Hurons and Chickasaws, the latter being friendly toward France. At first the war went favorably for the French, who had General Montcalm. Later it went in favor of the English, led by General Wolfe. In succession Acadia, the Ohio Valley, Quebec, and Montreal fell. Both of the opposing generals died at Quebec.

The Treaty of Paris in 1763 ended the contest. Canada and the right to the lands east of the Mississippi, except for New Orleans, passed from France to England. Spain lost Florida to England, but obtained from France the cession of New Orleans and rights to the lands west of the Mississippi.

The territory of the Allegheny Mountains, the Mississippi Valley, and the Great Lakes were reserved for the Indians.

No white man could settle there, nor buy or sell, without a special permit. The latter regulation caused discontent among the colonists, who saw their future in the west.

Secure against the French danger, they turned their energy to winning their political, industrial, and commercial freedom during the reign of George III.

* * * * * * *

Colonial discontent in North America.–George III, with his personalist regime and his autocratic attitude, caused the outbreak of hostilities between the American colonies and the mother country.

The discontent, as has been mentioned, was latent in a majority of the colonists, who protested against the commercial, industrial, and economic monopoly exercised by the English. They resented the imposition of Governors in almost all cases. They suspected that England would end by consolidating the 13 colonies into a single viceroyalty and would impose on them a governing authority and the Anglican religion. They objected to not being considered English citizens and not being allowed to send representatives to Parliament. They resented the prohibition against colonizing freely the lands snatched away from France.

The Seven Years' War had been very costly. George III sought to utilize the colonists by maintaining royal officials in the colonies, reorganizing the customs to prevent contraband and to collect effectively the duties, and establishing taxes for the maintenance of 10,000 soldiers assigned to defend the frontiers against possible attack by the Indians and perhaps the French.

For years the colonists had suffered from the English regulations that restricted the creation of significant colonial industry, free trade with the Antilles and the Spanish colonies, and the direct importation of European products. They had been forced to carry on contraband trade to save their economy. But the creation of the new customs duties and taxes to support military expenditures produced open rebellion among them. On the other hand, Parliament, knowing the deficit in the English financial situation, thought that if taxes were imposed on the colonists, it would not be necessary to raise them in England. Accordingly, they accepted the suggestion of minister George Grenville and imposed new duties on coffee, sugar, and molasses that came from the Antilles, and wine that came from Madeira.

The Sugar Act affected only New England, but the Stamp Act of 1765 that applied to all the colonies provoked general discontent.

According to the new law, stamped paper would be obligatory for all legal documents and for newspapers. What was collected would serve to maintain the English soldiers stationed in America for territorial defense. A new law concerning the quartering of soldiers, issued in 1765, imposed on the colonists the obligation to provide lodging in their homes for soldiers coming from England.

Increasing discontent.–The colonists refused to buy the stamped paper. In Boston a stamp distributor was burned in effigy. In many towns there were meetings in the streets protesting against the employees of the English Government in charge of selling the paper. The local assemblies raised a protest to Parliament. William Pitt, in 1766, declared that while the English Crown was sovereign over the colonies in matters of legislation, imposing taxes was a function given to the House of Commons. The Parliament could impose customs duties to regulate commerce, but it did not have the power to vote taxes for their own sake. Franklin appeared before the House of Commons to explain the colonial point of view. The Stamp Act was repealed.

The period of contentment was short. Parliament voted "customs duties" that had to be paid on the following English manufactures–dyes, iron, paper, glass, hides, and tea, upon entry into colonial ports.

Customs administrative offices were created that were charged with preventing contraband trade, which was very common in the colonies. The violators were to be tried not by popular courts, but by courts of admiralty established for this purpose. Contraband trade maintained the colonial economy, and the decision by Parliament was a disaster for local prosperity. In addition, the royal customs officials were authorized to enter private houses in search of contraband, which was a violation of the sanctity of the home.

The colonists, as a sign of protest, stopped buying and consuming manufactures coming from England.

In 1768 the customs service officials confiscated a shipment of Madeira wine brought on the ship "Liberty," property of the colonist John Hancock. His fellow citizens, who held him in high esteem, rebelled at this action. The customs officials asked for assistance from the English garrison, while the people gathered in a public meeting. The meeting demanded expulsion of the soldiers and sent circulars to all the colonies urging that they organize in defense of liberty.

In 1770 a group of youths insulted a guard in Boston, a detachment assembled in defense, and in the darkness a crowd attacked the soldiers with rocks and snowballs. The soldiers ended by firing against the civilians. Four of them were killed and the unfortunate episode received the name of the Boston Massacre. The soldiers were tried and absolved by a court, and this accentuated colonial discontent.

The English Parliament, tired of the boycott and the colonial unrest, wanted to end the unfortunate state of affairs by permitting the free importation of products and manufactures, except for the tax on tea. But Parliament was unwilling to agree to the withdrawal of the English garrison soldiers.

The conciliatory policy was not successful.

The colonists wanted to achieve a complete and decisive victory. Accordingly, they opposed this new arrangement. They stopped consuming tea and prevented the unloading of tea in Philadelphia and New York.

In 1773, three English ships arrived in Boston with 340 chests of tea. The colonists refused to allow the tea to be landed, but the Governor of Massachusetts would not permit the ships to depart. A group of colonists disguised as Indians boarded the ships and threw the chests of tea into the water. England, offended, declared the port closed and placed it under military control. The King imposed a council to govern the colony. Public meetings were not permitted without permission of the Governor. Those responsible for the uprisings were to be judged outside the colony. The port of Boston was not to be reopened if the colonists would not permit enforcement of the laws. General Gage was appointed Governor of Massachusetts with orders to apply the above laws, which the people in the colonies called the "Intolerable Acts."

Benjamin Franklin appealed to the colonists to pay for the tea that had been thrown into the sea, but the Massachusetts Assembly chose to call for a meeting of delegates of all the colonies to be held in Philadelphia, to fix by common agreement the position to be taken towards the English Crown.

The First Congress of Philadelphia (1774).–It was given the name Continental [Congress] because it was composed of delegates from 12 of the colonies. Only Georgia failed to send delegates. Among the delegates were George Washington, who had been trained militarily and distinguished himself in the Seven Years' War, and John Samuel Adams, famous for his publications and speeches in favor of "the rights of Americans." The delegates did not show any intention of separating from the mother country. But they put emphasis on human dignity and the rights of man and formed a vigilance committee in each city, charged with preventing importation of English merchandise into the colonies. The vigilance was to extend over all citizens to stop anyone from buying prohibited manufactures. The respective Committees of Correspondence reviewed the books of the merchants in each colony and carried on communications with other committees. To achieve their purposes the colonists acquired arms and organized their own militias. It was natural that General Gage would intervene. He sent a Colonel Smith to seize a powder depot at Concord, near Boston, and to take Samuel Adams and John Hancock prisoners, as they were supposed to be in the region.

Some of the colonists learned of the order. One of them, Paul Revere, rode through the countryside during the night, alerting the militia leaders to attack the English.

The colonists decimated terribly the army of Colonel Smith, which had tried to retire in good order.

The first important encounter had occurred. The war between the colonists and the mother country had now started.

2. The Struggle for Independence in North America

The Second Congress of Philadelphia (1775).—This second congress was named the Second Continental Congress. It was composed of a select number of delegates distinguished for their intelligence, enthusiasm, and patriotism. Among them were Washington, the Adamses, the Lees, Hancock, Franklin, Jefferson, Dickinson, and others. They asserted again that the colonies had no intention of separating from the English Crown. Rather they were interested in defending their native land, natural rights, and liberty. The hostile activity toward the mother country would cease when it would respect the colonists. Since armed clashes had begun, it was necessary to elect a commander-in-chief of the Continental Army. George Washington was elected.

George Washington (1732-99), born in Virginia, was a rich plantation owner belonging to one of the most distinguished families of the country. He was brave, hard-working, prudent, and intelligent. He had studied land surveying, and had served in Virginia as a military officer and as a member of the legislature. He enjoyed an impeccable reputation and great personal popularity. His designation was applauded and supported by the majority. He was to become the most distinguished of the founders of North American independence. Washington put all his energy into organizing his Continental Army, overcoming enormous difficulties, because the volunteer soldiers frequently, after a few months of military training, returned to their personal pursuits.

In 1776, in spite of his limited forces, Washington succeeded in forcing Lord Howe out of Boston.

Meanwhile, two sides were forming among the colonists. The first favored the King, wanting to remain united with England. The second, the Patriots, fought openly for a break with the mother country and for national independence. Pamphlets, periodicals, and orators promoted this idea. An English writer residing in America, Thomas Paine, proclaimed independence in an inflammatory book, *Common Sense.* There was civil strife and fighting in the streets. The colonial Whigs imposed severe reprisals against the Tories or Loyalists.

[Picture] *George Washington.*

The Third Congress of Philadelphia and the Declaration of Independence of the United States (1776).—George III organized a new army, composed in part of mercenary troops, who were almost entirely German.

The feelings of the colonists, as English subjects, were offended. They saw a new offensive by the English Crown conducted with foreign troops sent to fight against them. They felt relieved of all brotherly union with England and repudiated its system and government.

Washington openly declared himself in favor of independence and in favor of a republic. The third congress in Philadelphia invited the colonists to form a new government because in the hearts of the majority was the idea that they must not recognize an authority dependent on the English Court. The Loyalists or Tories, who favored the King, were disarmed, and the Governors were deprived of office.

Each colony elected a group of individuals forming a convention charged with drawing up its own constitution.

The colonies transformed themselves into independent states or republics (May 1776).

The Declaration of Rights or Constitution of Virginia was accepted by all the colonies and served later as the model for the Declaration of Rights of the French nation. In it were recognized the natural right to life and liberty; the sovereignty of the people to elect their leaders, who were charged with working for the common welfare and security of the nation; and the separation of the three powers of government.

The Declaration of Independence of the United States.—It was drafted by the great Virginia writer, Thomas Jefferson, and revised by men of culture and political ability. The Declaration, directed to the entire world, was signed on July 4, 1776.

The Declaration is based on the principles of the great thinkers of the 18th century and affirms:

a. God has created all men equal and given them inalienable rights: life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.
b. The sovereign people must elect their leaders, who will protect the inalienable rights of man.
c. The government derives its just power from the consent of the governed, but it may be overthrown and replaced by another when it does not respect natural rights.

The Declaration of Independence concluded with an enumeration of grievances against the King and Parliament and declared, as a consequence, the freedom and independence of the 13 colonies.

The Congress had very limited powers. It lacked money for arms, munitions, and clothing for the volunteers, who also had to be paid.

To the 16,000 men it succeeded in recruiting, it promised land as a reward when the war was ended. The majority of the colonists continued cultivating their lands. Many turned to manufacturing.

The Colonial Army.—It was composed of volunteers with no military experience. Washington himself asserted that being good shots, they would shoot well from behind a wall, but never attack in an open field or stand up to formal combat. Being familiar with their own terrain, its plains, rivers, and woods, they carried on something more like a guerrilla struggle against the enemy than a true war. They distinguished themselves by rapid assault maneuvers.

The English Army.—It was larger and better equipped. It was composed of a naval fleet and a land army.

It possessed experienced military leaders, which led to the belief that they would be able to put down the insurrectionists quickly.

First phase of the war (1776-77).—The English attacked the country from the north, the east, and the south, trying to use the rivers to establish dominance. Washington anticipated this maneuver and defended the Hudson River brilliantly. After 2 years of fighting, he achieved the victory of Saratoga (1777) over his enemy. In spite of the triumph, the American army was exhausted. Its soldiers lacked shoes, blankets, and clothing. Many militiamen deserted, taking their guns with them.

The French intervention in the Anglo-American conflict.—France had not forgiven England for having wrested away its colonies.

[Picture] *Marquis de La Fayette, adolescent.*

The American uprising awoke enthusiasm in the French, who saw in it a possibility for confronting and humiliating their enemy. Choiseul, minister of Louis XVI, worked actively for 3 years to reorganize the army and the navy. The insurrection of the North American colonies, who espoused the ideas of the European philosophers, were commented upon and applauded, in spite of the fact that France still maintained an absolutist regime. The enthusiasm for the American cause rose sharply with the arrival of three representatives of the Congress seeking French support. Among them was Benjamin Franklin (1706-90), a physicist of the first order and a distinguished diplomat. His presence was the best propaganda for the cause of liberty. Many young noblemen went to assist the colonists. Among them was Joseph Paul de Saint Roch, Marquis de La Fayette (1759-1834), who chartered a ship at his own expense to take a good many French volunteers to America. The colonist Silas Deane and the playwright Beaumarchais established the business concern, Hortalez and Company, to send munitions to America. On February 6, 1778, some months after the victory at Saratoga, the French Government signed a treaty with the rebellious colonies and promised not to abandon them until their independence was recognized. This treaty of offensive and defensive friendship also had commercial clauses. France and the colonies also agreed that they would not sign a separate peace treaty.

France immediately sent money, arms, clothing, and a small army under the command of Jean Baptiste Rochambeau.

The League of Neutrality (1780).–Catherine II of Russia formed with Denmark and Sweden a league of armed neutrality that maintained that the merchant ships of the non-belligerent nations would continue their commercial relations with the nations involved in the war. Holland later joined them.

Spain and the Anglo-American conflict.–Spain, joined with France by a family alliance and because of her enmity toward England, entered the war on the side of the colonies.

Spain's fleet, well-equipped, left Havana and occupied Florida.

The second phase of the war (1778-81).–The money, arms, and munitions from France gave new hopes to the colonists, who resisted the English attack at various points.

In Virginia, the English entrenched themselves, protected by a majority of those colonists who were loyal to the British Crown.

The French fleet blockaded Virginia. General Rochambeau beseiged General Cornwallis, who had concentrated his forces in Yorktown.

Washington, after having attacked Gen. Henry Clinton in the north, ended by uniting with Rochambeau. Yorktown capitulated in October 1781. The English Government asked for peace.

The colonists, fearful that France would demand for itself the Mississippi territory, began separate peace negotiations. England, in 1782, recognized the colonists as the independent United States and agreed to turn over all the lands of the Mississippi.

The Peace of Versailles (1783).–The Europeans had dreamed of defeating England. When the 13 colonies withdrew from the struggle, it became necessary to suspend hostilities. The Treaty of Versailles of September 13, 1783, recognized:

a. The independence of the English colonies of North America and the Mississippi territory.
b. The return of Minorca and Florida to Spain.
c. The return to France of the five cities it had lost in India during the Seven Years' War, Tobago and Saint Lucia in the Antilles, the islands of Saint Pierre and Miquelon, fishing rights in Newfoundland, the island of Gorea, and Senegal in Africa.

The greatest diplomatic triumph of France was to erase from the Treaty of Utrecht the clause specifying that Dunkirk must be demolished. Holland agreed to return Negapatam to the English and to permit them free navigation of the Indian Ocean.

In spite of the fact that England sought to guarantee to its loyal colonists their property rights, this attempt was not successful.

3. Results

The independence of the United States had an enormous effect in America and in Europe. The road to achieving liberty and the natural rights of man had been charted. The absolute monarchies and autocracy entered a period of decline.

The colonies of Hispanic America watched with interest the separation of the English colonies from their mother country. Creoles and mestizos felt their spirit of independence strengthen, but they were aware that it was not the opportune moment to rebel.

England.–The Tory Party and the ephemeral royal autocracy were replaced by the Whig Party and the triumph of Parliament. England, defeated overseas, was soon able to recover. It retained the colony of Canada where it accepted its colonists. In spite of the war, the commerce of the colonies had not been completely interrupted and both England and the 13 colonies promptly enjoyed its mutual benefits.

France.–The expenses resulting from the war ruined the financial position of France, which found itself in a deplorable condition. The monarchy, by supporting a democratic and liberal movement, undermined its own principles of absolutism and the divine right of kings. The French soldiers returning from their expedition and some of the loyalists who emigrated to France espoused the new republican ideas and proselytized among the rationalists.

Spain.–Charles III, in supporting the movement of insurrection of the American colonists, cast the first stone of the future wars for the independence of his colonies. His short-lived territorial victory was going to cost the Spanish nation dearly. The [American] colonists, who had viewed with bitterness the activities of France in the Mississippi region, looked unfavorably on the Spanish colonies to the west of the great river and the Spanish dominion in Florida.

The United States.–The majority of the rich and powerful colonists, at the beginning of the contest, sympathized with the thinking of England. At the end of the contest, the winners refused to give clemency to these Tories or Loyalists, and they emigrated to Canada and to Europe.

The economy of the colonies was altered little during the war, since the great majority [of the colonists] continued cultivating the land and dedicating themselves to small industry and commerce. Contraband trade continued on a large scale. Tobacco, among other things, continued to reach the English shores.

Agriculture received a new stimulus after the war from the ideas on cultivation that the French brought to the colonists. The confiscation of the large estates of the Loyalists, which were divided into small parcels destined for those who had been volunteers, marked a notable change in the agrarian economy of the country. Industry had to expand, since England sought to restrict the sending of manufactures necessary for daily life. Even the rich had to accept what the local factories of the country could provide them.

In addition to civilian industries, a great stimulus was given to industry for military needs, since not all that the volunteers needed could be received from abroad.

Social changes.–During the colonial period, in spite of the democratic tendencies prevailing in some States, there were families like the Penns and the Calverts that considered themselves infinitely superior to the rest. The War for Independence destroyed, in part, these prejudices of nobility and caste, bringing together all the patriots committed to a common undertaking. The system of primogeniture was definitively abolished in 1782.

In 1775, a campaign against slavery was begun. The most important centers of the movement, at the time of independence, were Rhode Island and Pennsylvania. But realization [of its aims] would be delayed for many years yet.

The Protestant sects, cutting their ties with England, were transformed into American churches.

Nationalism thus entered all fields.

Years of indecision (1783-87).–While democracy was on the march, there remained serious problems to be solved, among them the consolidation of independence by means of a system of government that would defend the 13 colonies, leaving them at the same time free and sovereign. The colonies, united in the struggle for a common ideal, were not yet at peace. The aristocratic and agricultural States of the South, the commercial interests of the Center and North, and the democrats of the frontier had to overlook their own interests and join together in works of common defense.

The States, confederated since 1781, officially had nothing more than a Congress of delegates who had acted in the name of everyone during the War for Independence. But this Congress, in time of peace, had no power to issue laws, declare war, coin money, or impose taxes. They had committed themselves to paying the volunteer militia and the debts of the 13 colonies, and they had no money to do so. In the end, the soldiers rioted. The Congress in 1783 had to leave Philadelphia. George Washington succeeded in convincing the soldiers to accept credits instead of money. He dismissed the troops, resigned as commander-in-chief in 1783, and returned to his farm in Virginia. The Congress, without enough representatives to deliberate, suspended its meetings in 1784.

Each State had an autonomous government, with its local laws and its own money. Each one began to print paper money, but to obtain English merchandise it had to pay with metallic money. Soon the metallic money disappeared from the market and foreign merchants refused to carry on commercial transactions with the colonists. The debt contracted by the Congress was $42 million. They paid no interest on it except to the foreign creditors, which outraged the creditors within the country. Industry and commerce suffered most, though at first the shortage of money was not felt. Later it was felt in all its gravity all across the countryside.

The States began among themselves a fearsome campaign of commercial boycotting and charging customs duties.

In the North, very powerful commercial firms were formed. In all areas discontent, fear, and hatred were felt.

In 1786, the economic crisis extended to the countryside of western Massachusetts when the farmers had no more livestock with which to pay their debts.

The English had not yet evacuated all of the Ohio region. The farmers felt uneasy with the British and Spanish presence interrupting their commerce on the [Great] Lakes, the St. Lawrence, and the Mississippi.

The question arose of the division of the lands located between the Allegheny Mountains and the Mississippi. All the western States wanted to colonize these lands, regardless of whether they had any right to them. In 1787 the Ohio Company, established in Boston, obtained a concession from Congress to split up the region into various territories that would each be administered by a Governor as long as it remained sparsely populated. Upon attaining 50,000 inhabitants, a territory would be transformed into a State and enter the Union.

[Picture] *George Washington and the first cabinet members of the United States: Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, Henry Knox, and Edmund Randolph.*

Creation of the Federal Government.–George Washington, of whom it was said that he was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen," Alexander Hamilton, and Benjamin Franklin undertook the enormous task of uniting the 13 colonies, divided among themselves, into a single nation. Seven years had been ample to demonstrate the inadequacies of a confederation that was, from the political and juridical point of view, merely the limited representative of an association of independent States. In 1787 the colonies agreed to the election of a Constitutional Convention that was charged with drafting the Constitution of the 13 States. The convention met in Philadelphia.

The Constitution of 1787.–Washington was elected president of the Convention. His patriotism, his wisdom, and his equanimity were the best guarantee of the outcome of the undertaking.

The agreements reached in 1787 still exist, aside from some reforms, even in our time, in spite of the economic and social changes the nation has experienced.

A federal government was created to transform the 13 colonies into one nation with respect to foreign countries.

The laws issued by the Federal Government apply in matters of war, peace, the army, the navy, money, commerce, weights and measures, the mail, and customs controls.

The federal and democratic republic has on the one hand a central government with legislative, executive, and judicial powers. On the other hand, it respects the local government in each State, and it establishes the relations that should exist among the States.

The executive power.–This is represented by a President, selected by indirect vote of as many electors from each State as the Representatives and Senators sent to Congress. His term of office is 4 years and he may be reelected. He has the power to appoint and remove his cabinet secretaries. In case of resignation, death, or removal of the President, the Vice President succeeds to the reins of government.

The legislative power.–It is represented by the Senate, composed of two members for each State occupying their seats for 6 years, and by the House of Representatives, elected in proportion to the number of inhabitants, and their term of office is for only 2 years. The two chambers constitute the Congress, and it is its duty to make the laws referring to the army, the navy, foreign relations, the national debt, taxes, coinage of money, commerce, mail, customs regulations, weights and measures, naturalization of foreigners, revision of boundaries among the States, and the annexation of new States to the national territory. The original States, numbering 13, are represented by stripes of the national flag, and the present number of States are represented by the 49 stars adorning it.

The judicial power.–It is composed of a Supreme Court and such secondary courts as Congress may deem it necessary to establish.

The three powers are independent and their responsibilities are not overlapping.

The amendments.–The members of the Constitutional Assembly understood that it was necessary to have a certain flexibility in the Constitution so that it could be adapted to the needs of the future. This led to the procedure of amendments, mentioned in one of its chapters. This permits additions, deletions, and modifications when Congress, representing the sovereign will of the people, considers it necessary.

The States of the federation commit themselves mutually to respect each other, to recognize the same rights for the citizens of all States, and to preserve forever the republican form of government.

Laws on rights and guarantees.–These laws appear as the first amendments to the Constitution, at the request of Massachusetts. They declare the right to freedom of thought, press, belief, assembly, and the right of petition before competent authority.

The Constitution of 1787, democratic in its principles, elaborated along the ideas of the natural rights of man, served as a model for the future republican constitutions of the European and American continents. It is the most typical example of the concepts of the liberals of the 18th century.

The first President of the American union was George Washington.

The United States, upon creation in 1800 of the federal District of Columbia, gave the name of its liberator to the official capital of the American union.

Conclusions

1. The independence of the English colonies of North America resulted from economic and cultural factors.
2. The colonists used the "natural rights of man" to formulate a list of grievances against the British Crown.
3. The first and second congresses at Philadelphia opposed royal autocracy. Only the third declared the separation of the colonies from the British nation.
4. The Governments of France and Spain supported the insurrectionists because of their rivalry with England.
5. Many French liberals supported the revolutionary ideas of the insurrectionists, enlisting in their ranks and providing them with money, arms, and munitions.
6. The recognition of the American union by France and Spain influenced the French Revolution and the independence of the Hispanic American colonies.
7. The first years after the war brought the colonies a series of difficulties that were economic, social, and political in nature.
8. The Declaration of the Rights of Man, of the State of Virginia, and the Constitution of 1787 expressed the liberal philosophical ideas of the 18th century.

Readings

1. Declaration of Independence of the United States

* * * * * * *

Nor have We been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

(Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams)

2. Good Government

* * * * * * *

. . . a wise and frugal Government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government, and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities. . . .

[from] Jefferson's *Inaugural Address* [1801]

3. International Justice

* * * * * * *

Observe good faith and justice toward all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct, and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence.

Who can doubt that, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages that might be lost by a steady adherence to it?

Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue?

The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature.

[from] Washington's *Farewell Address* [1796]

Suggested Exercises

1. Map of Canada and the United States indicating the Ohio Valley.
2. List the principal factors that caused the emancipation of the United States.
3. Give a brief table of the principal developments of the War for Independence of the United States.
4. Factors that motivated France and Spain to provide support to the insurgent colonists.
5. Biographies: Washington, Franklin. Brief summary of the ideas of Jefferson.
6. List the principal points of agreement reached by the first, second, and third congresses at Philadelphia.
7. List the repercussions that resulted in France from the monarchy's support of the American union.
8. Reading of excerpts from the Constitution of the United States.
9. Factors causing the creation of the American federal government.
10. Map of the United States in 1787.

6. CANADA

A British North America Survives the American Revolution[a]

In December, 1773, just a few months before the Quebec Act[b] was passed, a strange event took place which was to have an unexpected effect in Canadian history. Three ships loaded with tea were lying in Boston harbour when a party dressed as Indians boarded them and threw the cargoes overboard. This was the famous Boston Tea Party, and it started a crisis which ended in the American Revolution and created the United States as an independent country. But if the American Revolution created the United States, it was scarcely less of a turning-point in Canadian history, for Quebec, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland refused to join the Revolution, and following it they received from the Thirteen Colonies a new migration of Loyalists who left most important effects in Canada's development.

The Causes of the American Revolution

What then were the causes of the American Revolution? It used to be argued that the Revolution was caused by the tyranny of the British government in the years following the Seven Years' War. This simple explanation is no longer acceptable. Historians now recognize that the British colonies were the freest in the world, and that their people had rights and liberties, such as elected assemblies and trial by jury, which were enjoyed in no other empire. But if the British government was not guilty of tyranny, it was guilty, as we shall see, of a failure to understand the real difficulties of the situation. Unfortunately, the 1760's were a decade of weak and divided leadership in England, and the government showed a bungling stupidity which invited disaster no less surely than tyranny would have done.

In 1763, the Empire had just come through the most costly and dangerous struggle in its history, and in spite of victory there had been serious weaknesses. The laws of Parliament regulating trade had been broken in the colonies even by trading with the enemy, and the burden of defence had been very unequally shared: some colonies had given generous assistance, while in others the assemblies had done little if anything. To cure these defects it seemed reasonable, even to many people in the colonies, that some reorganization should take place. Unfortunately, however, the British government did not work out its plans carefully or make them clear to American leaders with the result that misunderstanding and resentment arose.

The government's first step was the Proclamation of 1763. Pontiac's rising had just swept over the West, and the plan of forbidding settlers to go beyond the Alleghanies [sic] seemed wise at the moment. Nevertheless, many important colonial landholders like George Washington were seriously disturbed by the Proclamation Line which hemmed the Thirteen Colonies in, and threatened to block their growth.

The British government followed the Proclamation by two other steps which brought a serious crisis. The first was the decision to enforce the laws of Parliament controlling the trade of the Empire, the Navigation Acts as they were called. Smuggling had been rampant, but to enforce the laws without giving the colonies more freedom in their trade would be a severe blow to their prosperity and was bound to

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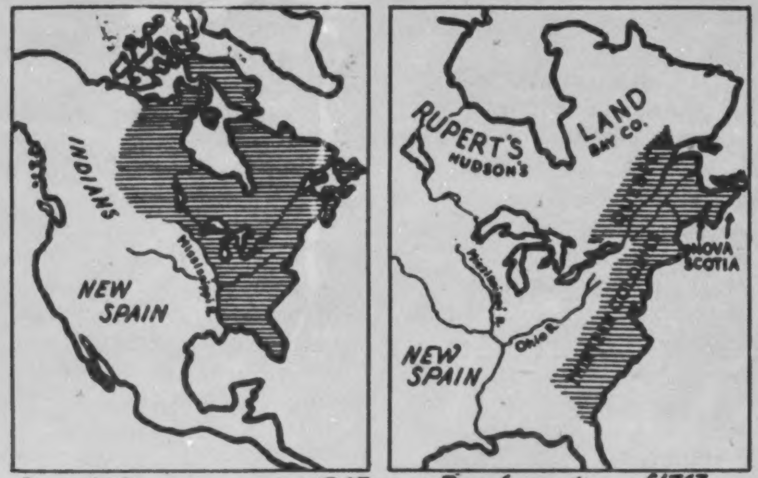
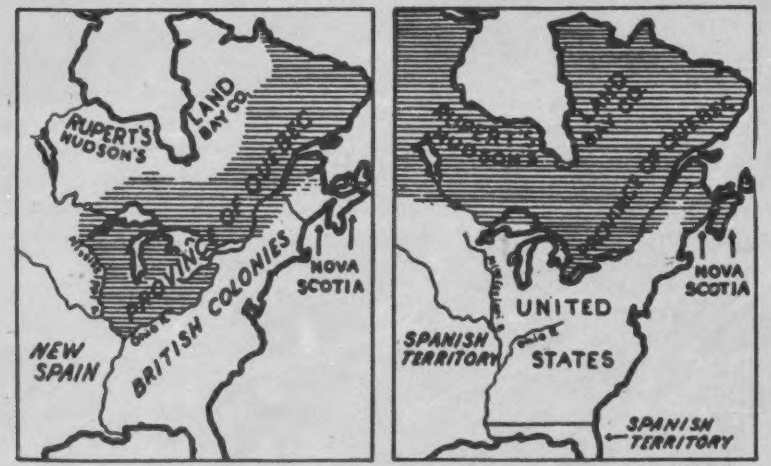
[a] Compilers' Note.–From George W. Brown's *Building The Canadian Nation* (rev. ed.). Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons (Canada) Limited. 1958. Pp. 184-93, 195-96, and 202-03. Reproduced with permission from J.M. Dent & Sons (Canada) Limited. The material is designed for the 10th year of a 12- or 13-year primary-secondary school cycle, but is used at other grade levels as well. (Original in English.)

[b] Compilers' Note.–The Quebec Act of the British Parliament expanded the territory of Quebec to include the area between the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, most of which was claimed by several of the then English colonies along the Atlantic seaboard. (See p. 32 for accompanying map, "Province of Quebec, 1774.")

A British North America Survives


INDIANS
NEW SPAIN
Mississippi R.
RUPERT'S LAND
HUDSON'S BAY CO.
NOVA SCOTIA
NEW SPAIN
Mississippi R.
Ohio R.

British Possessions in 1763 *Proclamation of 1763*


RUPERT'S LAND
HUDSON'S BAY CO.
PROVINCE OF QUEBEC
BRITISH COLONIES
NOVA SCOTIA
NEW SPAIN
Ohio R.
Mississippi R.
RUPERT'S LAND
HUDSON'S BAY CO.
PROVINCE OF QUEBEC
NOVA SCOTIA
UNITED STATES
SPANISH TERRITORY
Ohio R.
SPANISH TERRITORY

Province of Quebec, 1774 *The Peace Treaty of 1783*

Within twenty years, 1763-1783, there were crowded four boundary settlements which have an important place in Canadian history. The first and fourth were caused by wars, the Seven Years' War (Map 1) and the American Revolution (Map 4). The other two resulted from attempts made by the British government to solve the difficult problems of Canada and the control of the western country.

cause trouble. The second step was the proposal of a new plan for defence by which large garrisons would be stationed in America to control the Indians and the West. Britain was to pay two-thirds of the cost, the colonies only one-third. To raise the necessary money the famous Stamp Act of 1765 was passed, and by it for the first time a direct tax was levied on the colonies by Parliament. The Act brought a storm of argument and rioting. The colonists protested against the "rights of Englishmen" being taken from them, and raised the cry so familiar in English history, "No taxation without representation." Pitt, whose genius had saved the Empire in the Seven Years' War, warned Parliament in the most solemn terms against threatening the liberty of the colonies. "I rejoice," he declared, "that America has resisted." The British government bowed to the storm and the Stamp Act was repealed after a year, but it was followed by taxes on tea, glass, and painters' colours. These too aroused opposition and then like the Stamp Act were repealed in 1770, except for the tax on tea which was foolishly kept in order to show that Parliament had the right to levy such taxes. Thus the British government in its attempts to reorganize the Empire had succeeded by 1770 only in creating ill-will and a fear that colonial liberties and rights of self-government were in danger.

Two causes of the Revolution have been suggested—the difficulty of reorganizing a vast and complex empire after the Seven Years' War and the mistakes in judgment of the British government. A third must be added, the feelings of strength and sturdy independence which had resulted from over a century of growth. The Thirteen Colonies were no longer in their infancy. Their people numbered over two million and many of them had never seen England. The colonies were American in their spirit and in their ways of living. Moreover, the French menace was removed after 1763 and the colonies no longer felt dependent on England's aid. This did not mean that they wished for independence. The great majority of the colonists were loyal, even after the Stamp Act. They were proud of the Empire and its liberties but to destroy those liberties was to invite disaster. Edmund Burke, the great Member of Parliament, understood this, but few in England were willing to listen to him. "Slavery they can have anywhere. But freedom," he declared, "they can have from none but you. Deny them this freedom and you break that sole bond which must preserve the unity of the Empire."

[Picture] *The Boston Tea Party.*

In the years following the Stamp Act a small minority of radicals began to work for independence. They watched for every opportunity of stirring up trouble, and their great chance came in 1773. In that year the British government gave the East India Company a monopoly of exporting tea to America. Tea, because it had been taxed, was a delicate subject in the Colonies and this action was widely resented, especially by the Colonial merchants, many of whom now lost their trade in tea. The radicals immediately seized the opportunity of making a crisis, and in Boston it was this group who staged the Boston Tea Party.

The Boston Tea Party was a lawless act, but now, if ever, was the time for a careful and wise policy. Instead, the British government closed Boston harbour until the tea should be paid for, and took other repressive measures.[1] A flame of opposition spread from one end of the Thirteen Colonies to the other. Men were already arming, and early in 1775 the first shots were fired at Lexington and Concord near Boston when a force of British redcoats, sent to look for hidden arms, was attacked. Soon General Gage and his British army were hemmed in at Boston, and in June a battle in which Gage was defeated was fought at Bunker Hill. Even yet there was time for compromise, but tempers were hot and neither side would go far enough to win a peaceful settlement. A Continental Congress with representatives from all the colonies had already been called together at Philadelphia, and during the autumn and winter of 1775-76 extreme opinions rapidly gained ground in it. Finally, on July 4, 1776, the Declaration of Independence was issued. The breach was complete.

Quebec, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland Refuse To Join the Revolution

Nowhere was the Revolution watched more anxiously than in the provinces north of the Thirteen Colonies. Would they join in it or would they remain loyal to the Empire? Newfoundland was the furthest away, and its people had always been attached to Britain. They had no love for the New England fishermen who came to their shores, and in 1776 when Quebec was invaded it was the timely arrival of a corps of Newfoundland volunteers that helped to save the day.

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[1] These acts were called in the Thirteen Colonies the "Intolerable Acts." The Quebec Act, being passed at the same time, thus got into bad company and was denounced as violently as the rest.

In Nova Scotia the situation was very different. Here a large majority of the settlers were from New England, and naturally many of them sympathized with the Revolution. The feeling was, however, never strong enough to cause an open outbreak. The settlements were scattered, and most of the people probably wished to be left alone, like those of Yarmouth who made the following statement: "We do all of us profess to be true Friends and Loyal Subjects to George our King. We were almost all of us born in New England, we have Fathers, Brothers and Sisters in that Country. Divided between natural affection to our nearest relations, and good Faith and Friendship to our King and Country, we want to know, if it may be permitted at this time to live in a peaceable state, as we look on that to be the only situation in which we with our wives and children, can be in any tolerable degree safe." In Halifax feeling was overwhelmingly against the Revolution. Halifax was a naval and military base, and it prospered by the money which the British government spent there. The merchants felt they would be injured, not benefited, if their trade with Britain was broken off.

Britain and the British West Indies were by far their greatest markets. Moreover, the rebelling colonies could not send an army to Nova Scotia. The British navy controlled the sea; and although American privateers made some surprise attacks along the coast, the Thirteen Colonies lacked a navy and had neither men nor arms to spare. A number of reasons combined therefore to keep Nova Scotia from joining the Revolution.

In the province of Quebec there was still another situation. The leaders in the Thirteen Colonies feared an attack from Quebec. They were, therefore, most anxious to win it over as the fourteenth colony, and there seemed to be a good chance of their doing so.

Governor Carleton had only about 800 regular troops scattered in small garrisons from Quebec to Michilimackinac. Moreover, his support in the colony was very uncertain. The merchants were displeased by the Quebec Act except for the clause which had extended the boundary, and the habitants[c] were very doubtful. In the spring of 1775, immediately after the skirmishes at Lexington and Concord, a small group of Americans took Ticonderoga which was garrisoned by only a few sleepy British soldiers. The Lake Champlain route was thus left unguarded, and soon an American army was moving on Montreal. Carleton rushed up from Quebec but saw that Montreal was too weak to be defended, and only escaped being captured himself by going down the St. Lawrence again in a rowboat with muffled oars. By the autumn of 1775 only Quebec itself was left to offer resistance to the American invaders.

[Picture] *Governor Carleton reviewing his troops in the Place d'Armes at Montreal in 1775.*

Their task was, however, not easy, and they did not get the help which they expected in the colony. The merchants, even though they disliked the Quebec Act, did not want to throw away their market for furs in England, and the habitants, while they disappointed Carleton, did not rush to support the invaders. Bishop Briand staunchly supported Carleton. "The singular kindness," he told his fellow French Canadians, "and the gentleness with which we have been governed on the part of His Most Gracious Majesty King George III; the recent favours which he has bestowed upon us in permitting us the usage of our laws, the free exercise of our religion, and allowing us to participate in all the privileges and advantages of British subjects, are sufficient without doubt to arouse your zeal to support the crown of Great Britain." The Americans also hurt their cause by offering paper money, which the French Canadians believed worthless, or by seizing supplies without paying for them at all. The small American army which, after taking Montreal, marched on Quebec in the autumn of 1775 was therefore in a most difficult situation, even though Carleton's garrison was desperately weak. On the night of December 31 in a blinding snow storm the Americans made their one hard assault. When this failed, it is a wonder that the siege continued. Short of supplies and with smallpox raging in their ranks, the invaders under General Arnold hung on till spring. When a British fleet sailed up the river in May, they could do nothing but retreat.

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[c] Compilers' Note.—The term "habitants" refers to the French agricultural settlers in Quebec.

[Picture] *General Arnold's Headquarters, 1775-76.*

No other invasion was attempted by the Americans. In 1777 the British took the offensive. An army under General Burgoyne was sent from Quebec by the Lake Champlain route. Another British army was to move north from New York, but when it failed to do so, Burgoyne was forced to surrender at Saratoga. Saratoga was a turning-point in the Revolution. It encouraged France to declare war on Britain, and so brought Americans help when they most needed it. But by this time the chance of winning Quebec had passed.

So the failure of the American invasion, British sea power, Carleton's leadership, the attitude of the merchants and French Canadians, all played a part in keeping Quebec from becoming the fourteenth colony. Most important of all was the fact that Quebec's interests were really different from those of the Thirteen Colonies. Her French-Canadian people did not want to merge with the English-speaking colonies. The centre of their life was the St. Lawrence as it had always been, and through the St. Lawrence Quebec's trade and defence were tied to Britain much more than to her neighbors on the Atlantic coast.

The End of the Revolution and the Making of Peace

In 1781 the defeat of the British army at Yorktown ended the campaigns of the Revolution. By this time Britain had almost every country in Europe against her, and only the navy's command of the sea prevented complete disaster. The news of Yorktown brought also a change in the British government. The friends of the Thirteen Colonies gained control and insisted on peace. The result was the Treaty of Versailles of 1783 which recognized the new United States of America, gave it the western country from the Alleghanies [sic] to the Mississippi, and drew the boundary line from the Atlantic coast to Lake of the Woods, which has remained with few changes to the present day. To some these boundaries seemed needlessly generous. The French government was astonished, and not very well pleased that the United States received so much, but the British government was determined that friendship and good-will should be restored. It was no fault of the Treaty that these generous intentions were later often forgotten.

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The Loyalists Seek New Homes

One of the greatest effects of the American Revolution on Canada has not been mentioned. This is the Loyalist migration which brought many thousands of new settlers from the United States to provinces still remaining under the British flag. In the Thirteen Colonies the Revolution had really been a civil war in which the whole population was torn with conflicting loyalties. John Adams, one of the American leaders, later said that in 1776 probably not more than one-third of the people favoured war against England, that another third opposed it, and that the remainder were uncertain. With opinion so divided, the harshest measures were used against those who remained loyal to Britain. Thousands, especially in New England, New York, and Pennsylvania were persecuted and stripped of their property. No less than eighty to one hundred thousand fled, or were driven and exiled from their homes. They were scattered on both sides of the Atlantic in many places, but mostly in the British Isles, the British West Indies, Nova Scotia, and the Province of Quebec. The Loyalists who settled in Nova Scotia and Quebec came mostly from the northern colonies–from Boston where the Revolution began, from New York which was held throughout the war by the British army, and from Pennsylvania where Loyalist sentiment was strong and widespread. Such a migration of thousands of new settlers was foreseen by no one at the beginning of the Revolution. It is not too much to say that it changed the course of Canadian history.

[Picture] *United Empire Loyalists. Landing on the site of Saint John, N.B., May, 1783, the first party of settlers faces new life in the wilderness of rocks and trees.*

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The Loyalist Influence

For many reasons, the coming of the Loyalists was an event of great significance in the history of British North America. Merely by adding to the population it caused changes all the way from Halifax to Niagara. New settlements sprang quickly into existence, not least among them the strong settlements west of Montreal on lands which had never previously been occupied except by Indians. Two new provinces were created, and after 1791 there were four elected assemblies where before there had been only one. But the effect of the Loyalist immigration went far beyond these things which can easily be measured. The Loyalists brought with them qualities and ideas which were toughened by hard experience. No country could have asked for pioneers more likely to succeed. They had a strong loyalty to the British flag, and at the same time a determination to enjoy the liberties and rights of self-government to which they had been accustomed. The variety of people among them is one of the things which interests us most — English, Scottish, Irish, and German families, representing districts in the Thirteen Colonies all the way from New England to western Pennsylvania. Most of them were humble and obscure people, many were from well educated and prominent families. Among them were soldiers and army officers, who brought a sense of discipline and organization. Others were men and women of force and experience whose influence could be seen everywhere in the life of their pioneer communities. Many of their descendants have shown the same high qualities of leadership, and it is no wonder that the Loyalist tradition has left in Canada an indelible impression.

[Picture] *Postage stamp issued to mark the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the coming of the Loyalists.*

7. GHANA

The American Revolution[a]

. . .[S]oon after the discovery of the New World, many Europeans left their own countries to find homes in the West Indies and in America. These people were called 'colonists'. Some left Europe because of the religious troubles. . . . Others left because they disagreed with the government of their own countries. Many of these men crossed the Atlantic to search for silver and gold or to start cotton and tobacco plantations.

From about 1607, thousands of British people settled in the eastern and southern parts of the present-day United States of America. (Look at the map [below].)

[Map] *The Thirteen Colonies which became the original thirteen states of the U.S.A.* [Major map features name and locate the 13 Colonies and 23 important cities in eastern North America.]

As time went on, these colonists became more prosperous. Each British colony had its own government, but at this time, the European governments insisted on their right to pass laws for their colonies.

During the seventeenth century in England, the government passed three Navigation Acts, which made certain rules about the colonial trade. Some of the goods produced by the colonies were to be exported only to Britain or other British colonies, and other goods intended for the colonies had to pass through English ports for taxation. Only British ships, and British colonial ships agreeing to certain rules, could be used. This increased the price of goods.

For some time the colonists in America evaded some of these laws. But during the second half of the eighteenth century, Britain levied several new taxes which the colonists felt they could not accept. They refused to obey these laws, because nobody from America had taken part in making these laws. 'How can we be asked to pay taxes by the British parliament in which we have no representative to speak for us?' they said.

But George III, King of Britain, and some of his advisers insisted that they did have the right to tax the Americans. Naturally, the Americans, who had left their homeland in search of freedom, refused to pay the taxes. They pleaded unsuccessfully with the British government to stop these taxes.

In 1775, the situation exploded into a war, which lasted for eight years. At first, the British proved stronger than the Americans. But the Americans had an able leader in George Washington, and as the war continued, they gained the upper hand. In 1778 France entered the war, and French troops came to the aid of the Americans. Another advantage for the Americans was the great distance from Britain. It was difficult for the British government to transport and supply troops.

Matters grew worse for the British, when other European nations, France, Spain and Holland, attacked the British navy at sea. Britain, fighting on several fronts at once, found it even more difficult to send troops to America.

The war ended in 1783 in defeat for Britain; with the signing of the Treaty of Paris, Britain recognized America as an independent country. (In the course of the war, on the fourth of July, 1776, the Americans had declared their country independent of Britain. This date, rather than a date in 1783, has since been celebrated by America as Independence Day.)

To sum up, the American victory was the result of good leadership, a better knowledge of the geography of the country, and help from France and other European countries. Britain's defeat was caused not only by the great distance between the battlefield and the home country, but also by poor leadership and the difficulty of fighting on several fronts at once.

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[a] Compilers' Note.—From F. K. Buah's "*A New History for Schools and Colleges*," Book 2 (2d ed.). London: Macmillan London Ltd., 1970. Pp. 71-74. Reproduced with permission from Macmillan London and Basingstoke. The material is designed for the early postprimary years of a primary-secondary cycle that may vary from 12 to 17 years. (Original in English.)

The American colonies' successful struggle for independence was a revolution. It was the first time in modern times that a colony ruled from outside had rejected foreign rule and formed a nation of its own. Britain learned an important lesson from this. From that time onwards, Britain had a new attitude towards some of her colonies, such as Canada and, later, Australia, where her own people had settled. In their other colonies, however, the British repeated the mistake of keeping colonial rule for too long a time. This led to another revolution: the emergence of self-rule for the former Asian and African colonies.

8. ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT

The American Revolution[a]

Revolution Against Colonialism

We have already discussed how the English colonists landed on the eastern coast of North America, how they established 13 colonies there during the 16th and 17th centuries, and how they constituted a part of the British Empire, with their population in 1760 totaling nearly one-third that of England herself.

The Americans took part in all the wars that Britain waged against France during a large part of the 18th century, participating with their forces, their lives, their material sacrifices, and their leaders, famous among whom was George Washington, who fought on the side of the English against France in the Seven Years' War in Canada (1756-63).

Furthermore, the American colonies suffered what England had succumbed to, in terms of the absolute authority of its kings during the 17th century.

But while the British Isles were able, under the leadership of Parliament, to restrict this [royal] authority through the 1688 revolt, England, under the auspices of this same Parliament, refused to allow the American colonies to enjoy the freedom and the constitutional reform it enjoyed. Therefore, the American Revolution was not only a revolt against blind British imperialism, but also a revolt to secure constitutional freedom and democratic principles.

Causes of the Revolution

The main reasons for the American revolution against British colonialism are as follows:

1. *British Tyranical Rule in America*

In each American colony there was a Governor representing the King of England, as well as two legislative bodies, one of which was elected by the people while the other was appointed by the Governor. But the British Parliament held the highest authority above those two bodies. The British Parliament was really the body that actually formulated the laws for the colonies and decreed the taxes imposed on them. There was a considerable conflict between the elected legislatures of the colonies and the appointed Governors, who were acting on behalf of the Parliament and the King of England. The frequency of this conflict resulted in increasing the awareness of the Americans of the conflict of interest between the American people and the British.

After the Seven Years' War, the Americans felt more resentment toward England, because they expected England to reward the American colonies by granting them greater freedom in managing their own affairs as a result of the staunch support the colonies gave England in this war. But [instead] England began administrative and economic reorganization of the colonies in order to increase its control over them.

2. *England's Trade and Economic Monopoly*

Behind this political disenchantment, there was discontent with the monopolistic policies of England in America. Ironically, while the British middle class acquired their freedom and supported the authority of the Parliament against the tyranny of the Kings of England, the same class supported the tyranny of the English Government and its monopolistic policies in the colonies, exploiting American resources for British interests.

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[a] Compilers' Note.–Translated from A. Radwan, M. Afifi, and M. El-Ghanam's *Ousool Elalam Elhadith: Muntha Elnahtha Elorupia Hata Waktana Elhather* (Foundations of the Modern World: From the European Renaissance to Modern Times). Cairo: Government Press, 1974. Pp. 78-89. The material is designed for the 10th year of a 12-year primary-secondary school cycle.

Examples are: (1) the Americans were forbidden to transport their trade in any ships except British vessels; (2) the Americans were prohibited from manufacturing what they could buy from England; (3) the Americans were restricted in purchasing certain commodities except through England.

The American colonies felt the burden of these controls and made it known to the British, but the British always justified the controls under the guise of protecting the colonies from the French in Canada. Ironically again, these controls were tightened as England emerged from the Seven Years' War burdened by a heavy debt ($700 million), and demanded from the colonies a greater share in paying these debts and in supporting the ever-increasing costs involved in England's imperialist expansion.

The British Parliament began increasing the taxes on the colonies, such as those on sugar, wine, silk, and coffee, without their consultation.

Then the British issued new directives restricting the trade of the Americans and warning them against exports to, and imports from, any other country. Furthermore, the Parliament took away the right of any colony to issue its own currency and financial paper.

Finally, England issued the Stamp Act, which brought about organized opposition from the Americans. This act imposed special taxes on newspapers, tickets, licenses, rental contracts, financial documents, and other legal agreements intended for the protection, defense, and maintenance of the colonies.

The Struggle for Freedom From British Colonialism

The organized American opposition to colonialism and English oppression began in 1765 and took the following forms: (1) popular resistance, indicating widespread anger with British policies; (2) consolidating efforts and unifying ranks under wise leadership; (3) open armed warfare against British colonialism.

1. *Popular Resistance*

After the issuance of the Stamp Act, the Americans openly expressed their anger, which was reflected by their newspapers, lawyers, religious leaders, merchants, and businessmen. These groups played a strong part in shaping public opinion, and led America's boycott of England materially and morally. Thus in 1765 the merchants boycotted English imports, leading to a business slowdown for a period of time and to a significant decrease in the trade with England.

No taxation without representation.—At that time, the Americans began to adopt the important principle of "no taxation without representation," and they believed that imposing taxes without consultation with them or with their representatives was a threat to their freedom.

The 1765 New York Convention.—In October of 1765, a convention took place in New York that included 27 distinguished and able men representing nine colonies. This was the first convention to unite the colonies in their struggle for freedom. This convention issued several proclamations asserting that there should be no taxation in the colonies except that adopted by their own legislatures.

England continued its policy of imposing taxes.—Facing this strong opposition, England retreated initially by repealing the Stamp Act. This eased the opposition to a certain extent. But in 1767 the British Government reimposed taxes on paper, glass, lead, and tea imported into the colonies from Britain. This rekindled the anger and the indignation of the colonists, leading the merchants and others again to depend more upon themselves, utilize their own resources, and boycott English trade. So the people began to use locally manufactured clothing and paper, and restricted their use of tea and paint for their homes.

The Boston Massacre of 1770.—In Boston, where trade interests were highly affected by the British meddling, the Bostonians revolted against the new tax regulations. They attacked customs officials who insisted on collecting taxes. When the British authorities sent two regiments to protect these officials, soldiers opened fire, killing and wounding civilians—an act that outraged public opinion and intensified the opposition.

England insisted on its right to impose taxes.—In 1770, the British Parliament recognized the intensity of the opposition, retreated, and cancelled all taxes except the tea tax, which was maintained due to the King's insistence that there should be at least one tax imposed in order to preserve his right to tax the colonies. As a result, tension decreased for 3 consecutive years, but the storm of opposition began again when some Americans called attention to the tea tax, which gave the British Parliament the right to continue to impose taxes on the colonies without representation.

Resistance to imposed taxes and monopolistic policies.—A popular front of citizens was immediately organized in Boston, called the "Committee of Correspondence." The main task of this committee was to clarify the rights of the colonies, their complaints, and the unfair practices of the colonial power, and to correspond with other cities regarding these issues. The idea became widespread, and similar committees were established in every city. These committees were the nucleus of active revolutionary organizations.

The struggle became quite evident and strong when the Americans insisted that tea should not be permitted to enter the colonies. This tea was monopolized by the East India Company under an agreement with the English Government. On the evening of December 16, 1773, this struggle reached its climax in Boston when some American youths, disguised as Indians, went aboard English ships and threw their load of tea overboard.

This constituted a serious problem for Britain. So the British Government decided to punish the revolutionaries. It issued some decrees, such as those closing the port of Boston, forbidding public meetings without the Governor's permission, and requiring the local authorities to house the British soldiers. The American people considered these decrees grossly unfair.

2. *Consolidating Efforts and Unifying Ranks Under Wise Leadership*

The American people refused to yield to the British decrees. The people's representatives decided to take unified steps against this oppressive policy. In September 1774, 55 representatives met in the First Continental Congress of the colonies. They declared public resistance against British policies in the colonies and established an "association" that organized trade boycotts, encouraged the popular [resistance] movement, instigated public opinion against England, and decided to meet force with force.

This new association was a new step in the American struggle against England. When the English general received the news that the American citizens were collecting ammunition and weapons, he ordered that these materials be confiscated and that their leaders be sent to be tried in England. A contingent of the British army fought a crowd of people at the village of Lexington and killed eight of them.

The news of the British atrocities against the people of Lexington passed like an electric current to the other colonies. It was clear to all that England had begun the use of force that would lead to open warfare. This news spread all over the colonies, unifying them into a single national front and spreading a national spirit from one corner of the colonies to the other.

The beginning of the war and the Declaration of Independence.—As a result of all these events, a Second Continental Congress was held in Philadelphia in May 1775, in which the participants, under the leadership of wise men such as Ben Franklin and Thomas Jefferson, issued a "declaration setting forth the causes and necessity of their taking up arms." It said in part:

> Our cause is just. Our union is perfect. Our internal resources are great, and if necessary foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable. . . . The arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will . . . employ for the preservation of our liberties; being with one mind resolved to die free men rather than live [as] slaves.

The unity under Washington's leadership.—Immediately, the people were united and volunteer soldiers were organized in each colony. The members of the Congress and the people reached a consensus to appoint Col. George Washington commander-in-chief of the American forces. The people chose Washington because of his moral courage and his military competence, which he had demonstrated during the Seven Years' War between England and France. He was very popular with all the people because of his excellent leadership ability, his wise counsel, and his wide knowledge. When he was convinced of the righteousness of a certain issue, he would defend it with all his might. He did not concede defeat. One of his famous statements was "Defeat stimulates greater determination and we shall succeed the second time."

The Declaration of Independence.—The King of England declared that the colonies were in a state of rebellion and that it was necessary to punish them. As soon as the Congress received this notice, it had no alternative except the Declaration of Independence. A committee of five representatives was assigned to prepare the formal independence document. This committee was headed by Thomas Jefferson, who was in his early thirties and was famous for his enthusiasm and his principles. One of his famous principles was: "The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants."

On July 4, 1776, the document was completed and the Declaration of Independence was read to the people. It said in part:

> ... [A]ll men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. . . .

With this document, a new historical page began for the United States of America. This declaration represented the free political ideas that were prevalent at that time, such as those of John Locke. It stemmed from the public awareness that the government should exist for the people, and not the people for the government. The declaration kindled the enthusiasm of the American populace, heightened their feeling of importance, and inspired them to continue their struggle to protect their independence. The Declaration of Independence made the American question a world concern. So the European countries began to define their stand toward England and toward the new American nation.

3. *The War To Protect Independence*

The American Revolution continued for more than 6 consecutive years, during which 12 important military battles were fought and the war spread to every colony. In the period after the declaration of independence (in the winter of 1777-78) Washington suffered a great deal. But by the spring, Washington was able to foil the plans of the English general, Howe, who captured New York in order to separate the northern colonies from the southern colonies. Washington defeated the English army that came from Canada to support Howe, and forced him to surrender at Saratoga in October 1777.

[Map] *The American States during the War for Independence, 1773-83.* [Major map features indicate the total area in North America encompassed by the 13 original colonies, and name and locate 4 cities and towns—New York, Boston, Saratoga, and Yorktown.]

Europe's stand regarding the American Revolution.—This victory had a great impact upon raising the spirits of the Americans, and upon the stand European countries took toward the American Revolution and toward England. France sided with the Americans, not because it favored freedom, as France was itself an imperialistic country, but because it wanted to take revenge upon England, which had usurped from it a large part of North America. France sent the Americans a fleet and armed forces that joined Washington's army.

[Map] *Europe and its stand regarding England during the American Revolution.* [Major map features indicate the European countries that were "against England," and those that "declared armed neutrality."]

Spain entered the war against Britain in order to recapture Gibraltar from it.

Sweden, Denmark, and Russia organized themselves into "armed neutrals" and declared that they had the right to deal with the Americans, thereby challenging England, which claimed to itself the right to search neutral ships in order to prevent them from helping the Americans.

When Holland helped the "armed neutrals," England declared war against her. Thus Britain could not find any allies, and the American colonies were able to complete their victory over Britain.

England's defeat and the end of the war.—The unification of the Americans under the leadership of Washington, and the coalition of the European countries against England, forecast the expected American victory. While the French fleet was able to surround the American coast, Washington advanced along with the French troops and encircled the English army at Yorktown until it was forced to surrender in October 1781, ending the efforts of England to suppress the American Revolution.

Nothing was left for England except to recognize the independence of the American States. Hence, negotiations based on the independence of the colonies began between them and England leading to a peace pact in September 1783.

The American Republic.—The first step after the success of the American Revolution against English imperialism was to lay the foundation for the governance of the United States. In September 1787, the representatives of the States gathered for a conference at Independence Hall in Philadelphia in order to establish a constitution for the whole country. At that time each State had ratified its own constitution.

According to this American Constitution, a united federal republic was established without deemphasizing the importance of each State and its freedom to lay down its own special laws. Among the important functions of the Federal Government were the right to issue currency, regulate trade, declare war, and make peace. Each State government had the right to maintain its own police, to regulate its own factories and work agencies, to establish its civil and criminal codes, and to be responsible for the education, health, and welfare of its citizens as well as for other matters related to its internal well-being.

The United States under the Constitution.—As a result of their revolution, the Americans succeeded in establishing their state on the basis of the republican, democratic system. They became the first people to adopt this system in modern times, a system based on a written constitution stemming from the following principles:

—The people are the source of all powers and have the right to amend the Constitution.

—Power is distributed between the Federal Government and the State governments.

—The [Federal] Government's power is divided into major branches: the legislative (the Congress), the executive (the President and his ministers), and the judicial (the courts).

—The Congress has the authority to make laws, the President has the authority to execute them, and the courts uphold the law and the Constitution.

—Officials are to be accountable and the rights of individuals are to be protected.

Consensus on George Washington as President.—After drawing up the Constitution, the Congress, (a name that the conference [at Philadelphia in 1787] has retained ever since) began necessary procedures to elect a President. There was but one man who was invariably viewed by the delegates as being worthy of the presidency. This man was George Washington, and he was elected President unanimously.

9. ISRAEL

The War of Liberation of the North American Colonies and the Establishment of the United States [a]

The Situation in the North American Colonies After the Seven Years' War

The consequences of the Seven Years' War had awakened many hopes in the North American settlers. The dangers from the French and their allies the Indians had passed, and a stretch of territory between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River had been added to the areas under British rule. The growing population in the colonies had already begun to feel a lack of land, and they looked with envy to the broad and fertile stretches of terrain beyond the Appalachians, which only fear of the French had kept them from invading in large numbers. The colonists hoped that from now on they would have an opportunity of settling there, and the trading companies were drawn by the opportunity of good land transactions. To be sure, the British Government, which feared that confrontations between the colonists and the Indians were likely to conflagrate into general war (especially since in 1763 a severe Indian uprising had broken out in the North), was interested in orderly distribution and settlement of the new territory. In 1763 it therefore issued a proclamation, according to which it was forbidden to cross the Appalachians, and which transferred the authority to ratify the sale of land in those areas to the British Government in England. This prohibition was a heavy blow for the settlers and created much bitterness among them, since they saw it as the brutality of a distant power that deprived them of the spoils of war.

The British Government's Demands for Participation of the Colonies in Defraying the Costs of the War

This was not the only reason for the tension that arose after the Seven Years' War between the settlers and the British Government. That war had cost the British Exchequer large sums of money and had significantly increased the English national debt. The shapers of English policy were of the opinion that, since the war had been conducted for the most part in order to protect the colonists, it would be only proper if they helped defray its expenses. The British Government was convinced that the colonists alone would not be able to protect themselves and the new territories that had been added, and therefore it decided to maintain a 10,000-man standing army in North America in the future and to obligate the colonists to provide a large part of the necessary funds. For that purpose the Government imposed taxes and additional payments and gave instructions for closer observance of regulations concerning the various duties (on merchandise) than had been in effect until then. These steps caused opposition and intensified the controversy that existed between the colonists and the Central Government and, in the last analysis, were responsible for the severe friction during the sixties and seventies of the century.

The Economic Policy of the Crown in Its Attitude Toward the Colonies

In conformity with mercantilist conceptions, the British Government saw the main purpose of the colonies as their usefulness to the homeland. This conception found expression in the navigation laws, which were issued during the second half of the 17th century, in combination with a series of rules that were intended to subjugate the colonial economy to the needs of the homeland. Thus they imposed a prohibition on the transport of merchandise from England to the colonies, and from the colonies to England or other countries, in any but English ships or ships of the countries in which the merchandise originated. The colonies were obligated to sell certain types of merchandise such as tobacco, rice, iron, woods, furs, etc., only to England. To be sure, the colonies also profited from this regime, since it secured the English market to them. But in the long run, it harmed their economic life. They were forced to accept for their merchandise a price set by the English merchants, even though they could receive a better price for their wares elsewhere. Also, the colonies were forced to pay higher prices for English industrial products. In order to prevent competition with English industry, the Government prohibited the exercise of certain trades and industries within the colonies. The colonists put up with these limitations because they needed English assistance and protection, and especially because for the most part the trade regulations were not enforced. The colonies conducted extensive smuggling, and it is estimated that about 50 percent of the merchandise passing through Boston harbor during those days moved illegally.

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[a] Compilers' Note.–Translated from Michael Ziv and Shmuel Ettinger's *Divrey hayamin, Kerech Gimel, Hazman Hakhadash, Khelek Alef* (History, vol. III, Modern Times, pt. 1). Haifa: Yovel Publishers, Ltd., 1960. Pp. 106-28. Reproduced with permission from Yovel Publishers, Ltd. The material is designed mainly for the 11th year of a 12-year primary-secondary school cycle.

The Constitutional Controversy

Conflicting opinions and conflicts of interest between the Government and the colonists in the economic area combined with the constitutional dispute concerning the limitations on the prerogatives of local government in the colonies and the degree of their dependence on the homeland. The colonists believed that the decisions of the London Parliament did not obligate them, because their representatives did not participate in that body. That meant that the London Parliament had no power to impose taxes on them since "no taxation without representation" was the rule. They completely denied that the Parliament in London had the right to make laws that were binding on the colonies as, similarly, the colonial Parliament had no right to set laws that were binding for England. In contrast, the English parliamentarians claimed that they represented all areas of the English Empire and that there was no difference in this respect between the inhabitants of the colonies and those of any district in England. These differences of opinion regarding principle became sharper as a result of changes that took place in the colonial policy of the English Government. Up to that time the Government had not involved itself in colonial affairs very much and its ties with the colonies were quite weak. The war [i.e., the Seven Years' War] had revealed the weaknesses of this attitude and a need for changes was felt. The English Government's tendency to strengthen its rule in the colonies was intertwined with the personal ambitions of King George III (1760-1820) to repossess the prerogatives that the English King had lost during the time of his predecessors of the house of Hanover. The King's partisans among the Tories supported him in this desire. In contrast, the Seven Years' War had increased the colonists' faith in their own strength and their inclination toward independence. Many of them became conscious in their hearts that they had the power to stand up for themselves without further need of protection from Great Britain. The removal of the French from North America had furthered their recognition of this fact.

The Grenville Laws

In 1764, Grenville, head of the [British] Government, proclaimed the Sugar Law, according to which a tax was imposed on the sugar harvest, types of wine, silk, and other merchandise from non-British colonies, and strict rules on taxation and smuggling were issued. This law and the manner in which it was implemented struck a heavy blow at the New England and middle colonies, where it was customary to buy sugar and sugar byproducts cheaply from the islands of the French West Indies for purposes of rum distillation. That same year, a Mint Law was also proclaimed that had as its purpose to eliminate a colonial custom of using promissory notes of credit as currency. This custom enabled the colonists to overcome difficulties resulting from a lack of hard currency and enabled debtors, mostly farmers, to take care of their debts. The strongest opposition was produced by the Stamp Act of 1765, which required the affixation of stamps to various types of documents, newspapers, pamphlets, calendars, etc. This law affected in particular lawyers, journalists, and the entire community of the intellectual professions that shaped public opinion in the colonies.

Reaction of the Colonists

These laws affected all layers of the population in all parts of the country. In various places societies of the Sons of Liberty began to organize, committed to active opposition to their implementation. Calls for a boycott of English merchandise and use of the stamps were heard. Disorders, demonstrations, and acts of terror against the King's officials took place. At a meeting of representatives from nine colonies that took place at the invitation of the people of Massachusetts, it was decided to turn to the British Parliament with a request that the above-mentioned laws be voided and to threaten a boycott. This reaction on the part of the colonists and pressure from groups in English commerce that began to feel the results of the boycott moved the Parliament in London to invalidate the stamp tax law, but at the same time it decided anew to stress the principle of its unlimited right to issue laws that obligated the colonies.

Intensification of the Struggle

This partial retreat of the Parliament brought only a short lull in the struggle. In order to achieve the aims of the Central Government, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Townshend, imposed a tax on lead, glass, paper, paints, and tea sent from England to the colonies. And in order to achieve close implementation of the law, authorization was given to conduct searches in private homes and stores for selected types of merchandise. The revenues derived from the tax were to defray the salaries of the Governor and his officials and to pay for maintenance of the standing British army in the colonies. At a later date certain privileges were extended to the British India Company to facilitate its tea trade in the colonies, enabling it to sell tea in the colonies at a price even lower than that of smuggled tea. A storm of opposition broke out once more with new force. Demonstrations and violence became frequent, and the boycott was strengthened. The Government broke up local legislative assemblies that had convened to decide on opposition to the new laws. At a clash that took place in Boston in 1770 between a mob and the British army, five citizens were killed. The news of the Boston Massacre quickly spread throughout the land, and the Parliament in England retreated once more and voided the Townshend taxes, except for the tea tax, since it intended to stress its privilege in principle to impose taxes on the colonies. The extremists among the colonists were not content with even this remnant of the Townshend Laws, since they, too, gave paramount importance to the principle involved. Associations of Sons of Freedom and also Conspiracy Societies were formed in many colonies. They called themselves Patriots. They insisted that the spirit of opposition to the Government should not be forgotten, and they demanded continuation of the boycott on tea. They prevented the discharge of cargoes of tea from ships, and in 1773 even boarded a ship with a cargo of tea in Boston at the initiative of Samuel Adams, one of the extremist leaders of the movement, and threw the boxes of merchandise into the sea. The British reacted vigorously in the spirit of statements by King George III that the colonies should either surrender or triumph. And in order to deter the colonists from committing new deeds of violence five "laws of coercion" were proclaimed, according to which most of the freedoms of Massachusetts were voided and the competencies of the King's officials were broadened. They were given the power to transfer those accused of rebellion to another colony, or to England, so that their actions might be adjudged outside their home colony. Finally, Boston harbor was closed and the town's inhabitants were forced to accommodate British soldiers billeted in their homes until damages for the destroyed merchandise had been paid. During the same period the Quebec Law was proclaimed, which extended the boundaries of that district and gave freedom of worship to the Catholics in Canada. Even though this law was not enacted in reaction to the Boston Tea Party, the colonists, especially the New England settlers, regarded it as diminishing their privileges. In addition, a large British military force was sent to Massachusetts and a general was appointed as the colony's Governor. These steps were intended as an explicit warning to the colonists that the Government had made up its mind to apply all power at its disposal in order to impose its will, and that what had happened in Boston would also happen to other places that would dare to follow its lead.

The First Continental Congress (1774)

The colonists were not idle either. In accord with a proposal by people from Massachusetts, representatives of the Conspiracy Societies met in Philadelphia in 1774 to discuss the means by which the struggle with England should be conducted in common accord. In this First Continental Congress, 55 of the most prominent colonial leaders, representing almost all of the colonies, participated. For the most part, these were people of influence and honored social standing who belonged to circles with conservative views, and were careful not to come to a break with the homeland. To be sure, among them were also some with more extreme ambitions. The Congress repeatedly proclaimed the right of the colonists to "their freedom and their property" and their privilege to make their own laws. It turned to the people of England and the colonies with its grievances, and established a "league" of colonies for the purpose of conducting the economic struggle with England and imposing a boycott on English products until the laws involved in the conflict were voided. The Congress also decided to meet once more in spring 1775 in order to discuss the situation. Meanwhile the tension in the colonies increased and a revolutionary spirit developed. Local activist councils were established, weapons were collected, and military units were organized and trained in the use of arms.

The English Reaction

In English public opinion, and also in Parliament, various views were held with regard to the colonies. The Whig Party, at that time in opposition, included men like William Pitt the elder, the known writer Edmund Burke, and others who saw the Government's actions as expressions of George III's absolutist inclinations. The opposition of the colonies to these actions was, in their opinion, a continuation of the struggle of the English people for their rights. They demanded accommodation with the colonies, which in turn should modify some of their demands. The King and his adherents were vigorously opposed, since they regarded the colonists' demands and their actions as rebellion and treason and believed that the only way out was to overcome the rebellion with brute force. Military commanders in America received instructions in this spirit and were sent reinforcements.

Proclamation of Independence by the Colonies

In the early spring months of 1775 the British commanding officer in America instructed his men to confiscate the weapons that had been collected, to arrest the leaders of the rebellion, and to bring them to England. On the way to the little town of Concord, not far from the village of Lexington, a clash took place between British soldiers and the rebels and there were victims. On their way back to their bases the British soldiers were attacked all along the way by the local people, and on both sides many were killed and wounded. To be sure, before the start of these hostile acts, and even after the shots "whose echo was heard around the world," there were still people who wanted, and believed in the possibility of, reconciliation. The Second Continental Congress, which met as arranged in May 1775, decided once more to turn to the King stressing its loyalty to him and calling for peace, but at the same time it decided to mobilize financial resources for the struggle and to organize an army, which would be commanded by George Washington as supreme commander. George III rejected the proffered peace and proclaimed the colonies to be in a state of rebellion. The position adopted by the King eased the work of those among the American leaders who from the start had striven to achieve complete separation of the colonies from Great Britain and who on principle were opposed to monarchial rule. To be sure, these antimonarchial tendencies were not the opinion held by the majority, and many among the settlers were not ready as yet for extremist action. These antimonarchial tendencies were strengthened and spread in very broad circles with the publication of the pamphlet *Common Sense*, from the pen of the Quaker Thomas Paine, an emigrant of humble origin who had reached America only 2 years before and had published a periodical there. Paine strongly and ably negated the monarchial principle, courageously attacked the personality of George III, and called on the colonies to separate from England and proclaim their full independence. The pamphlet was spread quickly in thousands of copies all over North America and helped greatly to consolidate the idea of independence. Richard Lee from Virginia gave expression to this change in the mood in his proposal that Congress proclaim "that the colonies represent an independent state and are obligated to form one . . . they are not dependent on the English Crown and all ties between them and Britain should be totally voided."[b] A committee under the chairmanship of Thomas Jefferson, another

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[b] Compilers' Note.–Omissions are in the Hebrew original.

Virginian, was requested to formulate the proclamation of independence of the North American colonies and this proclamation was ratified by the Congress on July 4, 1776. This document stresses, in the spirit of political views held by the philosophers of that generation in France and England, that human beings are equal and possess natural rights that cannot be abrogated. These are the rights to life, to liberty, and to happiness. The proclamation also determines that governments draw justification for their existence from their protection of these principles and privileges, and that the source of their rule is the will and consent of those subject to their authority. And it is the privilege of the latter to reject a government that has denied these principles and rights and to appoint another government in its place. In its second part, the declaration lists the tyrannical acts of George III and his government constituting evidence that they denied the above principles, thus justifying the rebellion, and it proclaims the independence of the colonies.

Washington's Personality, Relative Power

The war for liberation of the North American colonies that came in the wake of the Declaration of Independence lasted for over 6 years. The forces in this contest were unequally matched. The British had at their disposal an organized army, trained and equipped and much larger than the colonists' army, but it consisted mostly of mercenaries, largely from Germany, who did not fight for a cause dear to them. The British also had at their disposal large financial means and a strong navy that was able to supply them with all their needs and to interrupt traffic between the colonies and the countries of Europe, or at least to hamper it significantly. In addition, the British relied on the help, and even the active support, of all those who had kept aloof from the rebellion and had remained loyal to the King. In contrast, the colonists suffered from a lack of arms, equipment, and money. To be sure, they fought on known terrain and almost every man among them knew how to use arms. Nevertheless, they were not an organized, disciplined army and at times showed anarchical tendencies. During the struggle there were periods in which Washington had at his disposal merely several thousand hungry, ragged soldiers who were bitter and close to despair. It should be noted in Washington's favor that thanks to his organizational gifts, his upright character, his personal charm, his great moral strength, his strong faith in the justice of the cause he served, his ability in command, and his influence over his subordinates, he was able to turn this undisciplined popular militia into a unified army filled with faith in its strength and the will to fight and win. Washington himself was convinced—and so convinced his army—that victory in this struggle of the few against the many lay in the moral strength of the army and of the people behind it, and to that he devoted his chief attention. It should be stressed that it had fallen to Washington to overcome not only the lack of military equipment and financial resources, but also the lack of mutual trust between the individual colonies, the suspicions and small-mindedness, the attempts of quite a few to enrich themselves at the expense of a people engaged in a struggle, and also the economic difficulties such as rising prices, a lack of confidence in the currency, and other related matters. Washington, with the aid of his supporters, overcame all these problems and during the course of the war rose to the level of a national leader, a hero beloved by all and a personality of unshaken moral authority.

The Course of the War and the Consequences of the Peace of Versailles

At first the colonists suffered heavy defeats. Many areas and important cities, among them the centers of American life in those years such as New York and Philadelphia, were conquered by the enemy. The rebels were forced to retreat westwards and many of them were close to despair. But an important change in the situation took place after their great victory in the Battle of Saratoga in 1777, when a large British army of 5,000 men surrendered to the insurgents with its commanders. This battle had not only military significance—actually it was not sufficiently important to decide the war—but also political meaning. The colonists' struggle had awakened many echoes in European countries and had engaged the sympathies of freedom fighters among different peoples, including England's enemies. The representatives of the rebels were energetically active in the capitals of Europe in order to gain moral support and financial and military aid. Many Europeans regarded it as their duty to participate actively in the colonists' war for freedom. Thus the rebel army was joined by Lafayette the Frenchman, Kosciuszko the Pole, Steuben the German, and others. The French Government saw in the rebellion an opportunity to try to invalidate the results of its defeat in the Seven Years' War, but from the outset of the war it limited its help to the supply of arms and the extension of credit only. The battle of Saratoga freed the colonies from their military isolation. France declared war on England and a short while later was joined by Holland and also by Spain, which hoped to recapture Gibraltar and Florida. This fact fundamentally changed the relative strength between the warring parties, especially at sea. England was forced to fight on several fronts and encountered difficulties in maintaining the blockade of the colonies. The effort to maintain this blockade under all circumstances moved other countries to enter the war to protect the freedom of trade by sea. Russia, Denmark, and Sweden declared "armed neutrality," thus expressing to some degree their readiness to oppose by force any effort to search their ships. As a result of this change in the international situation England's position became more critical. Critical statements increased in Parliament in London and in expressions of public opinion, especially after a second heavy defeat that England suffered in 1781 when the main British army under Lord Cornwallis surrendered to the rebels at Yorktown. This surrender actually put an end to England's effort to subdue the rebellion by force and decided the outcome of the war. A new Whig government in England opened peace negotiations with the colonies and their allies. Washington, who knew that the Americans had reached the end of their strength, also wanted peace. In 1783 peace treaties were signed at Versailles, in which the sovereignty of the North American colonies was recognized and they were given the territory between the Appalachians and the Mississippi River. In the North a border was fixed that was almost identical with that of today. In the South, the Florida peninsula was given to Spain. The privilege of the colonials to fish in the waters off Newfoundland and Nova Scotia was assured. France received back several of her territories in the West Indies and in Africa. The colonies obligated themselves to return the properties that had been confiscated during the war from those who remained loyal to the king (the "loyalists"), most of whom emigrated to Canada. They also obligated themselves to pay the colonists' debt to English merchants.

The Economic Crisis After the War

With the signing of the peace treaty and the recognition of the colonial States' independence, the latter faced the difficult problem of giving new form to their common political life. In spite of the Union's establishment simultaneously with the declaration of independence, the colonies were actually independent States with governments of their own. Differences in economic interests, differences in tradition and in the social structure that existed among several of them, and anxieties and suspicions contributed to feelings of mutual distrust. In the first years after the granting of independence there was much tension between the States. This was a period of confusion and severe political and social crisis. The States established their own customs tariffs, a fact that caused much friction among them. Even the currency was not uniform, and several States issued their own bank notes, thinking only of their own narrow interests. The value of the currency, already low in any case, fell tremendously. There also was friction between the States with regard to the boundaries of their jurisdiction, and especially concerning the question of what form of government should apply to the areas that were turned over under the Treaty of Versailles, and how to organize them. The difficulties that had moved the British Government in 1763 to forbid the move westward reappeared. The economic life of the States was shaken to its foundations. Debtors among the farmers even tried to cancel their debts by use of force. The danger of a social revolution threatened. A state of anarchism arose that brought about complete political and economic chaos. The promises to satisfy the claims of the English creditors were not fulfilled, and the property of the Loyalists was also not returned. As a result, England did not withdraw its army from its strongholds and there were fears that the war might be renewed. There was no central government capable of functioning in North America, since Washington had taken his leave immediately after the end of hostilities and had returned to his estate. To be sure, the Continental Congress continued to meet and theoretically it was the supreme government of the States, but in actuality it was nothing but a type of council of representatives of the sovereign States in which every State, small or large, had one vote and in which every decision needed at least nine affirmative votes. The Congress had no authority to impose or collect taxes and duties and, during certain periods, did not even hold its meetings, since its members did not attend and it had no mechanism of enforcement at its disposal. The decision of 1787 concerning the Northwest Territories was made with only 18 of the 91 members of the Congress present. The states of Europe were skeptical of the new nation's ability to survive and did not send representatives there.

The Northwest Ordinance of 1787

The leaders of the [American] States saw this development with concern, since it was bound to lead to political disintegration, and they reached a consensus that the States would have to be unified into one political body that would be subordinated to one national government. A first and important step in the direction of unification was taken with the adoption of a decision concerning the fate of the Northwest Territories. During the war and immediately after its termination thousands of settlers had burst into the new areas. Certain States demanded that they govern these areas by themselves, and other States claimed that the areas belonged in common to the States and that new States should be established there. Finally the latter position was accepted, and in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 it was determined that a Governor appointed by the Congress should rule in the new areas. When the number of settlers within the boundaries of a certain Territory reached 5,000, it would be granted independence within certain limits, such as the right to establish a local legislative assembly similar to those in the other States. A representative of the Territory could participate in the sessions of Congress but would have no vote. When the number of free settlers reached 60,000, the Territory could be admitted into the Union with rights equal to those of the other member States. In the three to five States that would be established in the new area, freedom of speech, press, and religion would be maintained, and slavery would not be introduced. The Ordinance of 1787 determined the future road of development of the United States and the methods of its colonization in North America throughout its extension to the shores of the Pacific Ocean. The States that were established during the 19th century became a part of the United States in accord with the principles of this Ordinance. Meanwhile the movement for unification grew. The followers of the young and able politician Alexander Hamilton and the man of science James Madison brought up a proposal to convene a convention of States' representatives to discuss means of improving the constitution of the Union. The convention met in spring 1787 in Philadelphia. In it participated representatives of 12 States, including, among others, the old and experienced leaders of the generation, Franklin and Washington, and also the younger ones, Hamilton and Madison. The representatives, whose number reached 55, were subsequently called the Fathers of the Constitution to honor them. Among the leaders known from the time of the struggle for liberation who were absent from the convention were Jefferson, who was then in France, Thomas Paine, and also several others who were opposed to the establishment of a strong central government.

The Dispute on the Principles of the Constitution

During the discussions on the contents of the Constitution, several central problems crystallized, and fundamental differences of opinion arose among the participants concerning desirable approaches to their solution. It became clear very quickly that a new formulation of the Constitution would not be satisfactory, as was at first believed. The small colonies feared that they would lose their independence to the large ones and demand equal rights in decisionmaking. No less important was the question of the central government's authority in relation to that of the local governments. Several of the participants demanded establishment of a strong central government with broad authority; others were opposed to this in principle. This led to the question of the method that would determine the composition of the individual States' delegations to the central governing bodies—whether according to the principle of equality or according to the size of their populations. It was unclear how the black slaves should be counted, how the President would be elected, and what his authority should be. In the answers that were offered to these questions, conflicts due to economic interests were also reflected, especially conflicts between the industrial-mercantile North and agricultural South. These conflicts found their expression also in the attitude of the participants toward slavery. There also were differences of opinion between those who tended toward an aristocratic form of government—and several of these did not eliminate from consideration the possibility of establishing a monarchy—and the advocates of a full realization of democratic principles of equality.

The Compromise

These problems and the strong differences of opinion connected with them could have precluded any possibility of agreement. The fact that George Washington, who did not lean to any party, was elected president of the convention, that the discussions were held behind closed doors, and that the convention agreed in one of its first sessions to decide questions by simple majority–all these developments smoothed the way to the success of the convention and its redefinition of the governmental institutions of the United States. Its sessions continued for about 5 months and all the various problems in the conflict were settled by compromise. Thus, for instance, a compromise was offered concerning the question of determining States' representation in the organs of the central government, according to which the legislative organ, the Congress, was to be composed of two houses–the Senate and the House of Representatives. To the first, each State, whether small or large, would send two representatives, and to the second house it would send a number of representatives proportionate to the size of its population. The second compromise concerned the slaves, who were essentially concentrated in the South. In order to determine the size of the representation of States in the House of Representatives only three-fifths of the slaves would be taken into consideration. Concerning demands for the abolition of slavery, in accordance with the principles of equality and the basic rights of man, it was agreed that for 20 years the Congress would not involve itself in the question of the importation of slaves and would not impose any duty on them above a fixed sum, and it was decided that there would be an obligation to turn over escaped slaves to their owners. Concerning the democratic principle, it was determined that the members of the House of Representatives would be elected by direct vote, and that members of the Senate would be nominated by the legislative body of each State. Also, the President would be elected by indirect vote.

Ratification of the Constitution

The new Constitution was accepted by a majority of 39 votes out of 55, but among those who voted for it were representatives from all the States. It was decided at the same meeting that it would take effect after ratification by at least 9 States. During the struggle for ratification, which was not an easy matter in several of the States, it became clear that there was a need to make certain changes in the Constitution, but by the summer of 1788 it received the necessary ratification. Within 2 years the ratification was confirmed by all 13 States. In 1789 Washington was elected the first President of the United States of America.

The Constitution of the United States

As has been mentioned, the Congress represents the legislative institution of the state. The President has veto power over the decisions of the Congress, but his opposition will not prevail if a decision is reconfirmed by a two-thirds majority in both Houses. In affairs relating to foreign policy, war, the military, and export-import matters, the Congress decides. According to the original Constitution, the members of the Senate are chosen by the legislatures of the States, but since 1913 they, too, are elected by direct vote. Every 2 years one-third of the Senate members leave, and in their place new ones are elected. The members of the House of Representatives are elected every 2 years.

The executive power is placed in the hands of the President and his ministers (Secretaries), whom he nominates and whose appointment is ratified by the Senate. The competencies of the President, who is simultaneously the head of state and head of government, are very broad. He is the supreme commander of the army and navy, he concludes international treaties and forms alliances with the Senate's ratification. He appoints high officials and judges. The President and his Vice President are elected every 4 years. The Vice President presides as chairman over the Senate, and takes the President's place after his death for the duration of his unexpired term.

The Constitution defines the authority of the central government, but that of the different state governments is defined negatively–that is, all prerogatives that are not explicitly assigned to the central government are reserved to them. They are mostly concerned with local matters: education, traffic, police, hospitals, etc. The States are headed by a Governor who is elected every 2 or 4 years. A legislative body is active by his side; it consists of two houses, which are also elected. The judiciary authority is placed in the hands of a Supreme Court which has very broad prerogatives. The judges of the Supreme Court are appointed for life by the President. They are authorized to decide controversies that arise between the legislative and executive authorities. In addition, it is their duty to decide if the laws and their implementation by government conform to the Constitution.

The authors of the Constitution wanted to assure its solidity, but at the same time to provide the possibility of effecting changes in it when necessary. In accord with this aim it was decided that proposals to change the Constitution would have to be ratified by a majority of two-thirds in the two Houses of Congress and also by three-quarters of the local legislatures. Since 1789 about 2,000 proposals for changes in the Constitution have been made, but only 21 have been ratified. Ten of these were adopted during the first years after the Constitution took force, and they include the ratification of the basic rights of man and citizens and represent the Bill of Rights of the American people (1791).

The Constitution of the United States is the first written republican constitution of modern times. For the first time the basic rights of man and citizens are explicitly noted and listed—rights and freedoms that, subsequently, through various channels, became the foundations of democratic society in the 19th and 20th centuries. The authors of the Constitution consistently implemented the principle of the separation of powers, and each of the three authorities serves as restraint to the others. The task of each is defined: the Congress determines the law, the President implements it, and the Court explains it. To be sure, the President has the opportunity to influence the lawmaking process by means of his right to veto, but the Congress on the other hand can influence the implementation of the law thanks to its right to confirm certain of the President's decisions and its right to judge the President legally under certain conditions. The Supreme Court, on its part, is authorized to set a specific law aside or to void a specific decision of the executive power if it is satisfied that this decision is contrary to the Constitution. To be sure, this mutual interdependence of the authorities is likely to complicate the legislative process and also to hamper the methods of implementation but, at the same time, it serves as a guarantee for the preservation of democracy.

The American Constitution was formulated 170 years ago for a nation of about 3 million people that occupied a territory incomparably smaller than that of today. Since that time the economic, social, and demographic realities of the state have totally changed, as has its international position, yet the Constitution, apart from a few added changes, remains valid. It did not interfere in the development of the American nation, and—except for the war between the North and the South during the second half of the 19th century—that nation had no need for the use of force in order to adapt its Constitution to the changes that took place in society. The foundations of the Constitution gave it sufficient solidity, as well as elasticity, to meet its needs.

Selections From Sources

The Declaration of Independence of the United States (July 4, 1776).

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.—Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

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He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

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He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our People, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighboring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

For suspending our own Legislature, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free People.

Nor have We been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

Thomas Paine (1737-1809 on the English Constitution [from *Common Sense*, first published in Philadelphia in January 1776].

Society in every state is a blessing, but government, even in its best state, is but a necessary evil; in its worst state an intolerable one; for when we suffer, or are exposed to the same miseries by a government, which we might expect in a country without government, our calamity is heightened by reflecting that we furnish the means by which we suffer. Government, like dress, is the badge of lost innocence; the palaces of kings are built upon the ruins of the bowers of paradise. For were the impulses of conscience clear, uniform and irresistibly obeyed, man would need no other lawgiver; but that not being the case, he finds it necessary to surrender up a part of his property to furnish means for the protection of the rest; and this he is induced to do by the same prudence which in every other case advises him out of two evils to choose the least. Wherefore, security being the true design and end of government, it unanswerably follows that whatever form thereof appears most likely to ensure it to us, with the least expence and greatest benefit, is preferable to all others. . . .

I draw my idea of the form of government from a principle in nature, which no art can overturn, viz. that the more simple anything is, the less liable it is to be disordered; and the easier repaired when disordered; and with this maxim in view, I offer a few remarks on the so much boasted constitution of England. That it was noble for the dark and slavish times in which it was erected, is granted. When the world was overrun with tyranny the least remove therefrom was a glorious rescue. But that it is imperfect, subject to convulsions, and incapable of producing what it seems to promise is easily demonstrated. . . .

I know it is difficult to get over local or long standing prejudices, yet if we will suffer ourselves to examine the component parts of the English constitution, we shall find them to be the base remains of two ancient tyrannies, compounded with some new republican materials.

[Map] *The War for Liberation of the North American colonies.* [Major map features locate the 13 original colonies and the sites of several of the important battles of the Revolution.]

First.–The remains of monarchial tyranny in the person of the king.

Secondly.–The remains of aristocratical tyranny in the persons of the peers.

Thirdly.–The new republican materials, in the persons of the commons, on whose virtue depends the freedom of England.

The two first, by being hereditary, are independent of the people; wherefore in a constitutional sense they contribute nothing towards the freedom of the state.

To say that the constitution of England is a union of three powers, reciprocally checking each other, is farcical, either the words have no meaning, or they are flat contradictions.

To say that the commons is a check upon the King, presupposes two things.

First.–That the king is not to be trusted without being looked after, or in other words, that a thirst for absolute power, is the natural disease of monarchy.

Secondly.–That the commons by being appointed for that purpose, are either wiser or more worthy of confidence than the crown.

But as the same constitution which gives the commons a power to check the king by withholding the supplies, gives afterwards the king a power to check the commons, by empowering him to reject their other bills; it again supposes that the king is wiser than those whom it has already supposed to be wiser than him. A mere absurdity!

There is something exceedingly ridiculous in the composition of monarchy; it first excludes a man from the means of information, yet empowers him to act in cases where the highest judgment is required. The state of a king shuts him from the world, yet the business of a king requires him to know it thoroughly; wherefore the different parts, by unnaturally opposing and destroying each other, prove the whole character to be absurd and useless. . . .

The Virginia Statute of January 16, 1786 on the Freedom of Religion

I. *Whereas* Almighty God has created the mind free, so that all attempts to influence it by temporal punishments or burdens, or by civil incapacitations, tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy and meanness, and are a departure from the plan of the Holy Author of our religion, who, being Lord both of body and mind, yet chose not to propagate it by coercions on either, as was in His almighty power to do; that the impious presumption of legislators and rulers, civil as well as ecclesiastical, who, being themselves but fallible and uninspired men, have assumed dominion over the faith of others, setting up their own opinions and modes of thinking as the only true and infallible, and as such endeavoring to impose them on others, has established and maintained false religions over the greatest part of the world, and through all time; that to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves is sinful and tyrannical. . . .that our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions, any more than our opinions in physics or geometry; that, therefore, the proscribing [of] any citizen as unworthy [of] the public confidence by laying upon him an incapacity of being called to offices of trust and emolument unless he profess or renounce this or that religious opinion is depriving him injuriously of those privileges and advantages to which in common with his fellow citizens he has a natural right. . . .

II. *Be it . . . enacted by the General Assembly* that no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burdened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinion in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities.

III. And though we well know that this Assembly, elected by the people for the ordinary purposes of legislation only, have no power to restrain the acts of succeeding assemblies, constituted with powers equal to our own, and that therefore to declare this act to be irrevocable would be of no effect in law; yet we we are free to declare, and do declare, that the rights hereby asserted are of the natural rights of mankind, and that if any act shall hereafter be passed to repeal the present, or to narrow its operation, such act will be an infringement of natural right.

* * * * * * *

Dates

1763–End of the Seven Years' War. Interdiction to move West.
1764–Sugar Law
1765–Stamp tax
1770–Boston Massacre
1774–First Continental Congress in Philadelphia
1776–The Declaration of Independence of the North American colonies
1777–Battle of Saratoga
1783–Peace of Versailles
1787–Northwest Ordinance
1789–Washington–President of the United States

Questions

1. Describe the causes of the conflict between the North American colonies and England according to their different types.
2. Why did this conflict intensify to the point of separation in the sixties and seventies of the 18th century? Do you believe that it would have been possible to prevent this split?
3. Write a charge sheet–from the perspective of an English patriot–on English policy toward the colonies during the crisis years.
4. Describe the stages in the developing political ambitions for independence of the North American colonies.
5. The war of liberation of the North American colonies is sometimes regarded as not only an external war for political independence, but also as an internal struggle for change in the methods of government and the social order. Is this view correct? Give reasons for your opinion.
6. Describe: (1) The influence of political events in Europe, especially the intellectual views current during that generation in Europe, on the chain of events in North America and (2) the influence and results that the war for liberation of the North American colonies had for the course of political and social events in Europe.
7. What difficulties, by type, faced the colonies at the end of the war for liberation?
8. What was the content and what was the importance of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787?
9. How did the Constitution solve the question of slavery? Does this solution appeal to you?
10. What were the main differences of opinion during the deliberations on the content of the Constitution of the United States? Were these differences of opinion settled? In what fashion?
11. Do you find that the Constitution of the United States expresses the political views of the period of the Enlightment? To what extent? Do you also find contrary views to these in it? Give reasons for your opinion.
12. Compare methods of government and authorization customary in the contemporary United States to those customary in England, especially with regard to (1) position, election, and prerogatives of the legislative body with regard to its two Houses and (2) authority of the English King on one hand and the President of the United States on the other.

10. JAPAN

The American Independence Revolution[a]

English Colonial Policy

The 13 English colonies on the American continent were the result of the efforts of the Puritans,[1] who were seeking freedom of religion in the New World, and of people interested in trade and developing new lands. Although under the control of the mother country, the colonists were strongly imbued with the spirit of freedom and independence, and they developed democratic autonomy through their respective colonial assemblies. In the North, commerce and industry thrived along with agriculture by landowning farmers, while in the South, tobacco and cotton plantations flourished through use of black slaves.

However, England, the mother country, limited the growth of commerce and industry in the American colonies by means of a mercantile policy of using the colonies as a source of raw materials and at the same time as a market for English products.[2] For this reason, the colonies became more and more discontented with England, but during the Seven Years' War [1756-63] there was no outbreak of disputes because the support of the home country was needed.

[Map] *Northeastern America during the colonial period (1760).* [Major map features identify the 13 original colonies and several important cities; also delineate French and Spanish territory.]

The French threat, however, disappeared with the termination of the war, and England made substantial territorial gains in America. Adopting a stronger mercantile policy to meet the expenditures incurred during the war and to ensure the security of the vast American territory, England then levied taxes on the colonies, thereby increasing colonial discontent. The Stamp Act of 1765, in particular, was opposed by nearly all colonists. Meetings of colonial representatives were held and took the position that, since no colonists were members of the English Parliament, Parliament could not vote taxes on them. Even in the home country, there was support for the proposition that taxation and the right to representation were inseparable principles, and in 1766 the Government rescinded the Stamp Act. Nevertheless, other taxes continued to be levied on the colonies. In 1773, opposition to the Tea Tax led to the Boston Tea Party.[3] From then on, the resistance movement grew more intense, but the home government's response was only to apply stronger tactics.

[Picture] *A view of part of the town of Boston in New England and British ships of war landing their troops 1768.*

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[a] Compilers' Note.–Translated from Kentaro Murakawa, Namio Egami, Tatsuro Yamamoto, and Kentaro Hayashi's *Shosetsu Sekai Shi* (Detailed World History). (New ed.) Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppan Sha, 1973. Pp. 218-21. Reproduced with permission from Yamakawa Shuppan Sha. The material is designed for the 10th, 11th, or 12th year of a 12-year primary-secondary school cycle.

[1] In 1620, the Puritans (also known as the Pilgrim Fathers) landed on the new continent from the Mayflower and founded Plymouth Colony, from which the New England colonies got their start.

[2] Examples of this control are the Sugar Act, which forbade the import of sugar from non-English colonies, and the Iron Act, which banned the manufacture of iron.

[3] To save the East India Company from financial ruin, England gave a special dispensation by waiving customs duties on the company's tea exported to America, thereby inhibiting the profitable smuggling trade of the colonial merchants. The Boston Tea Party refers to the incident in which these merchants and radical anti-Britishers joined together and, disguised as Indians, boarded the East India Company ships and dumped their tea cargo into the harbor.

The War for Independence and Its Effects

In 1774, the colonies held a Continental Congress to protest against the mother country, but the King and the Government refused to change their position, and in 1775 armed fighting broke out at Lexington. The colonies united to fight under Washington (1732-99) as the commander-in-chief.[4] On July 4, 1776, the delegates from 13 colonies met in Philadelphia and adopted the Declaration of Independence. This Declaration of Independence, drafted by Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826), together with the later Declaration of the Rights of Man of the French Revolution, forms the basic principles of modern politics.

The Declaration of Independence (Excerpts)

* * * * * * *

> We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and unsurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

* * * * * * *

While initially inadequately prepared and lacking weapons and food supplies, the independence army continued to fight under adverse conditions. It fought well under Washington's leadership and, with the help of aid from France and Spain and the armed neutrality assumed by the northern European countries, gradually gained supremacy over the enemy. The independence army gained the support of the European countries because these countries were colonial rivals of England and because the spirit of the Declaration of Independence was in line with the ideas of the Enlightenment of that period. Furthermore, support was gained by the eloquent and persuasive arguments of Franklin (1706-90) in Europe. In the end, England, defeated at the Battle of Yorktown (1781), recognized the independence of the United States with the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1783 and relinquished to the new nation Louisiana east of the Mississippi River.

The independence of the United States contributed to the cause of the French Revolution in two significant ways by aggravating the financial plight of the French Government, which came to the aid [of the Americans], and by serving as an inspiration to the French people's hopes for freedom. Also greatly influenced were the independence movements in the Latin American countries in the early 19th century.

Adoption of the Constitution and Establishment of the United States

After the United States became independent, the 13 States were loosely bound by the Articles of Confederation, and political and economic distress continued because the central government was weak. Therefore a movement to form a stronger central government began to grow, and in 1787 a Constitutional Convention was held in Philadelphia and drew up the Constitution of the United States. This Constitution recognized the broad autonomy of the respective States and provided for the separation of the three powers [of government] by establishing an office of the President to execute the affairs of the United States, a legislature consisting of a Senate for State representation and a House of Representatives for representation of the people, and a judicial authority consisting of the Supreme Court. Then a struggle began between the Federalists, who supported the Constitution, and the Anti-Federalists, who criticized it, thereby creating the basis for political parties.

In this way, the foundation of the United States

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[4] It cannot be said that the colonists were completely united, because government officials, large landowners, and wealthy merchants remained loyal to the King, while there were many others who remained neutral.

1800). After that, the United States exerted efforts was laid down, and in 1789 Washington became the first President (1789-97). Moreover, the city of Washington was created and became the capital (in to recover from the war and to expand her territory, welcomed many immigrants as settlers from Europe, and endeavored to promote the growth of her commerce and industry.

11. PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Social Conditions in Britain's North American Colonies[a]

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During the period of over 120 years from 1607 to 1732, British colonists had successively established 13 colonies along the eastern coast of North America: Virginia, Massachusetts, Maryland, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, North Carolina, South Carolina, New York, New Jersey, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, and Georgia. Later these colonies became the original 13 States of the United States of America.

In the beginning, the 13 colonies administered their affairs under British rule without mutual consultation, and there was little political link between them. Moveover, their relations with the suzerain state were not all the same. On the eve of the War for Independence, 8 of the 13 colonies were colonies of the Crown, with Governors directly appointed by the King to administer them; three were proprietary colonies whose Governors were nominated by the proprietors with the King's approval; and two were self-governing colonies whose Governors were elected from among the people of the propertied class, subject to the King's approval. The Governors of the 13 colonies were largely members of the British nobility or military officials, and they held military, political, financial, and judicial powers with which they could directly suppress the colonial people in the interests of the British ruling clique.

As a result of the ceaseless struggle of the colonial people for their political rights, the 13 colonies practiced bourgeois representative government by setting up their own local legislatures. As electoral rights were restricted in many ways in every colony, those elected to the colonial legislatures were mostly landlords, gentry, and agents of the bourgeoisie, without any representation whatsoever from the working people. There were struggles between the Governors and the legislatures. These struggles reflected the contradictions [i.e., conflicts, problems] between the colonies and their suzerain state.

During the middle of the 18th century, the economy of the 13 colonies was basically still agricultural. Generally speaking, 90 percent of the population were farmers. However, in New England textile, logging, mining, ironsmelting, shipbuilding, and other industries began to flourish, and handicraft factories of all types and variety increased rapidly. Furthermore, they were substantial in size, thus leading to the emergence of a bourgeois class of immense wealth. On the eve of the War for Independence, the annual exports from the colonies had already reached a value of $20 million (American). Capitalism had already begun to emerge, and the colonial people wanted to develop independently.

But the British administration of the colonies in North America was completely in the interests of the bourgeoisie in Britain. Pursuant to the Navigation Acts and other enactments restricting the trade of the colonies during the period of the Cromwell administration (1599-1658), the British Government prescribed that farm products produced in the colonies, such as tobacco, indigo, and cotton, must first be shipped to Britain to be sold there, while industrial goods needed by the colonial people must be imported solely from Britain. Moreover, the British Government dispatched naval ships to patrol the seas in a stringent search for smuggled goods. The British colonial rule thus impeded development of the national economy in North America. It forced certain local industries and businesses into bankruptcy, put workers out of their jobs, and caused farmers to suffer losses from the very narrow market for their

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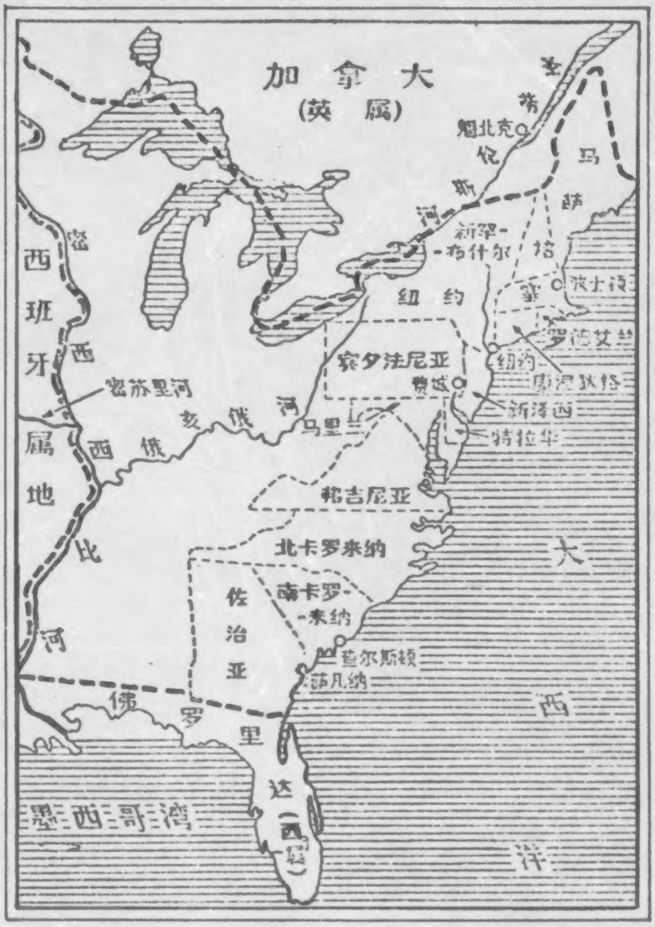
[a] Compilers' Note.–Translated from Kuo Sheng-ming, *Mei-kuo Tu-li Chan-cheng (The War for American Independence).* Peking: Commercial Press, 1973. Pp. 6-48 and 58-60. The material is designed for the upper years of a primary-secondary school cycle that may vary from 9 to 12 years in duration, and for use in adult classes at a comparable educational level.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罗德艾兰
纽约
康涅狄格
宾夕法尼亚
费城
新泽西
特拉华
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萨凡纳
俄亥俄河
密苏里河
密西西比河
西班牙属地
佛罗里达
(西属)
墨西哥湾
大西洋

宣布独立时的北美十三州

The 13 North American States at the time of the Declaration of Independence. [Map features identify the 13 States, 6 cities, 4 rivers, Canada, Spanish territory west of the Mississippi, Florida, and the adjacent seas.]

products. As a consequence, contradictions became increasingly acute between the ruling clique in Britain and the rising bourgeoisie and broad masses of the people in the colonies.

In addition to numerous restraints on industry and commerce, the British Government also restricted migration of the colonial people to the "free lands" of the west. With a view to preserving its right of disposition of these lands, to protecting the "trade" of British merchants in their plundering purchase of furs from the Indians, and to assisting in the exploitation of tenant farmers by their landlords, the British Government in 1763 prescribed that the colonial people were only permitted to reside in regions east of the Appalachian Mountain range, and were forbidden to move to the western lands. This injunction aroused strong opposition from the colonial people of all levels, since regardless of whether they were plantation owners or land speculators, farmers or artisans, they all wanted to get land in the west.

Since the early part of the 18th century, the economy of the 13 British colonies in North America had developed rapidly. Economic contacts between the colonies became increasingly frequent. Industrial goods from the New England colonies were shipped to be sold in the South, while the southern colonies supplied the North with foodstuffs and raw materials. Thus a unified domestic market had begun to take shape. By the middle of the 18th century, a rather comprehensive postal system was also established in the 13 colonies, so that letters and publications could be delivered to various points by means as rapid as any available in that era.

On the eve of the War for Independence, the total population of the 13 colonies was nearly three million, of which about 600,000 were Negroes. Notwithstanding the fact that these colonies were like 13 separate small states, their people—because they shared a common language, common territory, and common culture, and because of their internally developing economic ties—gradually formed themselves into a new nation.

In sum, during the middle of the 18th century, the mode of capitalist production in the 13 British colonies in North America had attained considerable development, the inhabitants there had formed themselves into a new nation, and they wanted to develop their own national economy. But such development was impeded by the policies of British colonial rule.

The people in the 13 colonies wanted to smash the shackles placed upon them by the British ruling clique, and to break loose from the fetters of their suzerain state. This desire inevitably led to the outbreak of the War for Independence.

The Outbreak of the War for Independence

"Washington,[1] Jefferson, and others made the revolution against Britain because of British oppression and exploitation of the Americans."[2] This instruction of Chairman Mao best explains the causes of the war for American independence.

After the conclusion of the Seven Years' War,[3] contradictions between the colonies in North America and their suzerain state became rapidly aggravated. Heretofore, during the Seven Years' War, the colonial people had actively organized their own armed forces and fought heroically with their blood and sacrifice, in concert with the British troops, to defeat the French, thereby expelling completely the influence of French colonists from the North American continent.

However, the colonial people in North America suffered even heavier exploitation and oppression after the Seven Years' War. The immense military expenditures of that war resulted in a huge financial deficit of £140 million. The British Government sought to pass this debt on to the colonial people by levying a variety of revenue taxes in North America.

In 1764, the British Government enforced the Sugar Act in the colonies in North America. Sugar

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[1] George Washington (1732-99), big plantation owner in Virginia, bourgeois statesman, commander-in-chief of the Continental Army during the War for Independence, and later chosen as the first President of the United States. Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826), bourgeois democrat, drafter of the Declaration of Independence, and later chosen as the third President of the United States.

[2] "The Bankrupcy of the Idealist Conception of History," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, one volume edition, p. 1399.

[3] The war fought in 1756-63 by Britain and Prussia against France, Spain, Austria, and others; it was waged in Europe, America, India, and on the high seas for seizure of colonies and for the hegemony of Central Europe. Britain won the war, with the result that it took Canada and the territory east of the Mississippi River from France, and Florida from Spain.

Act was but a name, as the act actually covered a host of articles: it provided that sugar, syrup, coffee, silk, linen, and other goods were all subject to heavy duty if they were imported from countries other than Britain. This adversely affected industry and commerce in the colonies, so the burden of these taxes was again shifted to the people. Meanwhile, the British Government reiterated the injunctions of the Navigation Acts by providing that raw materials produced in the colonies and needed by British manufactuers could only be exported to Britain; the colonial people were forbidden to manufacture from these materials for themselves. This type of colonialist revenue and trade policies seriously undermined colonial industries and commerce and adversely affected the livelihood of the broad masses of the people.

Subsequently, in March 1765, the British Government went from bad to worse by announcing the enforcement of the Stamp Act in the colonies. It prescribed that all documents, contracts, agreements, licenses, diplomas, wills, newspapers, magazines, books, advertisements, and invoices had to be affixed with revenue stamps before they were valid or negotiable. There was hardly a piece of paper which was not taxable in the colonies at the time. The scope of the stamp tax was very broad; it was estimated that the British Government could collect from it a revenue of £60,000 per year. This new policy of exploitation posed a direct threat to the livelihood of a great majority of the people in the colonies.

The British Government had anticipated that the Stamp Act would provoke the resistance of the colonial people. So immediately after its announcement, the Government also announced enactment of the Quartering Act. This act provided that British Government and colonial troops were permitted, if their barracks were inadequate, to occupy public houses and the private homes of the colonial people, and the latter were obliged to furnish the troops with food, drink, and household supplies. The malicious intent of the British Government was to insure enforcement of the Stamp Act and suppress the resistance of the people.

As always, things turned out contrary to the expectations of the reactionary rulers. The promulgation of the Stamp Act and the Quartering Act ignited the fuse that sparked the beginning of the War for Independence by the colonial people in North America.

With the announcement of the Stamp Act, the pent-up feelings of anger against Britain of the colonial people erupted suddenly, like a volcano. Meetings were held by people everywhere, protesting against the oppression and exploitation of the British Government. They solemnly and righteously declared that since the British Parliament had no representation from the colonial people in North America, it had no right to enact any bill levying taxes on them. The British Government was levying taxes without the consent of the people. This was tyranny! They loudly cried: "We want liberty. We don't want the stamp tax!" In Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and elsewhere, they proposed the boycott of British goods as a concrete action against the Stamp Act. This appeal evoked an immediate response from the people, and a raging mass movement to boycott British goods unfolded.

By the summer of 1765, the popular struggle of the colonial people against Britain had been extended to all places. From Massachusetts in the North to Georgia in the South, the torches of revolution were lit everywhere. The masses of the people displayed high revolutionary enthusiasm and initiative. In order to carry out the struggle effectively, they formed their own fighting body under the name Sons of Liberty. The basic elements of this revolutionary mass organization consisted of handicraftsmen, farmers, small shopowners, seamen, and fishermen. While bourgeois politicians were noisily debating in the colonial legislatures, the fighters of the Sons of Liberty had already taken revolutionary action against British colonial rule. They arrested British officials selling revenue stamps, smearing their bodies with asphalt oil, sticking them with feathers, then dragging them to the streets for public parade, and finally burning all unsold stamps to ashes. The fighters of the Sons of Liberty in New York smashed the Governor's official residence in that city. Such revolutionary deeds unnerved the big and small lackeys of the British Government stationed in the colonies and drove them into panic.

Broad masses of women also took an active part in the struggle against Britain. They organized their own fighting unit called the Daughters of Liberty, fighting side by side with the Sons of Liberty. They had a lofty slogan: "We'd rather wear native homemade garments than lose our liberty!" They spun cotton and wove cloth to replace British textiles. They played a large role in the mass movement for boycotting British goods.

Although the 13 British colonies were politically separate from each other, they were nevertheless united in their struggle against the British authorities and in resisting the stamp tax. In October 1765, on the initiative of the people of the Massachusetts colony, 9 of the 13 colonies sent delegates to New York City to convene an "Anti-Stamp Tax Congress." At this Congress, Christopher Gadsden, a delegate from the colony of North Carolina, loudly cried: "On this continent there shouldn't be any more distinction between New Englanders and New Yorkers. We are all Americans!" The people of the 13 colonies were united by their common interests. The Anti-Stamp Tax Congress was the first mass meeting called by the North American colonies in their united opposition to British tyranny. After more than 10 days of deliberations, the delegates unanimously passed a resolution against the Stamp Act and demanded that the British Government grant them democratic rights. The people in New York and elsewhere signed a pledge: As long as the Stamp Act is not repealed by the British Government, we will not buy British goods.

The boycott of British goods by the colonial people dealt an effective blow to industry and commerce in Britain. Seeing that stagnant markets for their domestic goods and suspension of ship sailings were forcing many industries and businesses to the brink of bankruptcy, the British ruling clique, ever relying on exploitation for their enrichment, was obliged to repeal the Stamp Act in March 1766. At the same time it made a public announcement that the British Parliament had the right to enact legislation on behalf of the colonies. This would pave the way for creating public opinion favoring the levying of taxes on the colonial people at a subsequent date.

In truth, only 1 year later the British Government announced another series of revenue acts (they were called the Townshend Acts because the then Chancellor of the Exchequer was Townshend) levying taxes on paper, glass, red lead, dyestuffs, tea, and other goods exported to the colonies by other countries. It was also provided that in order to stop smuggling, British revenue agents were permitted to conduct searches aboard ships and at stores, warehouses, and private homes. These reactionary measures were met with strong opposition from the people of the colonies, and they brought about another round of broad mass boycotting of British goods. The British Government then pursued a high-handed policy by dispatching a contingent of troops to suppress the opposition. At this juncture the colonial people not only felt a sense of strong resentment against the British Government, but also looked upon it with extreme contempt. Thus, when British troops wearing red coats appeared on the streets in Boston, they were ridiculed by the Bostonians, who sneeringly called them "lobster soldiers."

[Picture] *British troops firing upon unarmed civilians in Boston.*

The contradictions between the colonial people and the British ruling clique became ever more acute as time went on. On March 5, 1770, British troops stationed in Boston savagely fired upon unarmed civilians, killing instantly five persons and wounding six, thereby creating the famous Boston Massacre incident.

The Boston Massacre incident aroused the extreme indignation of the colonial people in North America. From New Hampshire and Massachusetts in the north to South Carolina and Georgia in the south, people everywhere held public meetings condemning the reactionary British authorities for their violence. The disposition for struggle was particularly strong among the Bostonians. They conducted public burial for their martyrs, turning the burial rites into a parading demonstration against Britain and demanding the withdrawal of troops by the British reactionary authorities.

Heretofore, the struggle of the colonial people in North America had been scattered and regional. In the course of the struggle, however, they summed up their experience and came to feel that it was necessary for them to stand together for united action. Thus in November 1772, a town meeting held in Boston adopted a proposal made by Samuel Adams (1722-1803) to create a Committee of Correspondence to exchange information with other areas, act in unison, formulate a program and policy, and propagate revolutionary ideas. The emergence of the Boston Committee of Correspondence immediately led the people of other areas to emulate it. In less than 2 months, a Committee of Correspondence was formed by more than 80 cities and towns in the colony of Massachusetts. By 1773 such committees had been set up in the colonies of Virginia, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and South Carolina. They played a large role in promoting the development of the revolutionary cause. They greatly strengthened the political links between the people of various areas, and later became the organs of revolutionary power.

Following the incident of the Boston Massacre, the British ruling clique was forced by strong pressure from the colonial people to repeal all revenue acts enforced in the colonies with the exception of the Tea Act, which was retained to demonstrate the power of the British Government to levy taxes on the colonial people. This act was regarded by the colonists as a symbol of the tyranny of the British Government. So on a cold night in December 1773, a group of revolutionary Bostonians disguised as Indians rushed aboard several British ships anchored in the harbor and emptied all the tea cargoes of the East India Company into the sea, in protest against the tyranny of the British Government.

[Picture] *The Boston Tea Party incident.*

The embarrassment of the Boston Tea Party incident drove the British ruling clique into consternation. In response, it announced that the most severe measures would be adopted to deal with the people in the colonies.

Beginning in March 1774, the British Government promulgated a series of five cruel enactments known in American history as the "Five Intolerable Acts": (1) The port of Boston was ordered closed and absolutely forbidden to trade with the outside world. This was meant to coerce the people into surrender by starvation. Also, compensation was demanded for the losses sustained by the East India Company. (2) The charter of the Massachusetts colony was revoked by placing the colony under the complete jurisdiction of the King's Governor, without whose approval no public meetings were to be held. (3) It was prescribed that when British civil and military personnel committed any crime, they must be sent back to Britain for trial and must not be subjected to penalties under local laws. (4) The provisions of the Quartering Act, whereby the colonial people were required to furnish the British troops sent there to suppress them with food, drink, and housing accommodations, were reaffirmed. (5) The Quebec Acts were announced, placing huge tracts of land from the newly acquired territory north of the Ohio River under the jurisdiction of the Canadian Province of Quebec. Moreover, the acts took a tolerant position towards the Catholic Church in Canada, in order to cajole the French Catholic immigrants there into helping to prevent the westward migration of the people in the 13 colonies. To insure the enforcement of the five acts, the British Government appointed General Gage, commander-in-chief of the British army in the colonies, to be Governor of Massachusetts, and steadily sent reinforcements to strengthen their military suppression there.

However, the colonial people in North America were not to be intimidated by the reactionary British authorities; instead, they rose to take up a determined struggle against them. At that time people everywhere in the North and the South held big protest meetings, went on strikes, and closed up shops in defiance of the reactionary British rule. In this round of their struggle their resistance against Britain assumed a national scope. During the period when the port of Boston was closed and food supplies were stopped at their source, the people in the 13 colonies regarded the hardships of the Bostonians as their own, and vied with each other in sending them food supplies. Workers in Boston refused to build barracks for the British troops. This forced the authorities to recruit workers in New York, but the New York workers also failed to respond. The massive struggle against Britain thus bound together the people of the 13 colonies in North America.

While the British Government sent more troops to carry out suppression, the colonial people gave them tit for tat by organizing their own militia contingents. Before this time, there had been militia in all of the 13 colonies, but their officers were all appointed by the Governors. Now, under new revolutionary conditions, the militia of all areas were reorganized, with officers elected from among their ranks. Moreover, many working people and revolutionary enthusiasts joined the militia, thus enabling it to improve its quality and later to become the armed force of the people. The ranks of the reorganized militia came to be known as the Minutemen, meaning that in case of emergency they could be called together within a minute's time to perform their tasks. Meanwhile, revolutionary bodies in various places collected guns and ammunition to get ready for the attack of the British troops.

On September 5, 1774, as a result of repeated consultations and preparations, the 13 colonies (except Georgia) sent delegates to a meeting in Philadelphia to discuss a common front against Britain. This was the First Continental Congress. It was attended by 55 delegates, all of whom were distinguished representatives of the bourgeoisie in the colonies. In general, their political inclinations may be divided into three factions: the first were the radicals, represented by Samuel Adams; the second were the moderates, represented by George Washington and John Adams; and the third were conservatives, represented by John Jay (1745-1829) and John Dickinson (1732-1808). At the beginning of the Congress, the conservatives vehemently advocated compromise with the British ruling clique and angrily voted against independence. Later, this adverse situation was retrieved by the revolutionary movement of the popular masses.

During the session of the First Continental Congress, the people in Massachusetts held many county and town meetings at which resolutions were passed to express their views on the prevailing state of affairs. Among them the most exemplary was the Suffolk Resolution, which reflected the views of the Bostonians who then stood at the forefront of the struggle.[4] The Suffolk Resolution called upon the people in the 13 colonies to oppose the "Five Intolerable Acts," urged them to use force in resisting British oppression, appealed to them to unite in order to form their own government, to thoroughly boycott British goods, and to sever all commercial ties with Britain. On September 16, 1774, the 11th day after the opening of the First Continental Congress, the people of Massachusetts forwarded the Suffolk Resolution to the Congress by special messenger, thereby greatly strengthening the will of the radicals and undermining the prestige of the conservatives. As a result, the Congress was obliged to announce that it would carry on the work in accordance with the demands of the Suffolk Resolution.

On October 26, 1774, the First Continental Congress was adjourned after more than 55 days of intense deliberations. The Congress demonstrated the compromising nature of the bourgeoisie. It indicated that the colonies in North America were still loyal to Britain, and referred to the King as a "most benign Sovereign." However, propelled by the popular masses, it accomplished two great things: (1) It made public a Declaration of Rights, affirming that the colonial people in North America were entitled to enjoy the rights of "life, liberty, and property," condemning the British Government for its numerous acts of tyranny, and demanding the repeal of the "Five Intolerable Acts"; it also explicitly declared that "the Americans are determined not to surrender in the face of tyranny"; (2) under the name of the Continental Association, it formulated a series of orders that prescribed enforcement of "three injunctions" against Britain–namely, prohibiting the import of any merchandise from Britain, the export of any merchandise to Britain, and the purchase of any merchandise from Britain–and stated that any violator would be punished as an "enemy of American liberty."

The injunctions announced in the name of the Continental Association by the First Continental Congress had a significant meaning in American history. Before this, the 13 colonies never had had any common legislative and executive organ, and the Continental Congress at first was only a consultative body. Now, under the strong propelling force of the revolutionary people, it enacted mandatory decrees that were to be universally enforced throughout the colonies, thereby turning a consultative body into a supreme organ of political power. At the same time people everywhere, vigorously responding to the call of the Continental Congress, formed a Committee of Safety at county, city, and town levels, charged with the responsibility for boycotting British goods. In the wake of the rapid development of the revolutionary situation, these committees became increasingly more powerful. In combination with the local Committees of Correspondence, they made up the local organs of revolutionary political power.

Thus a situation of struggle was created with the emergence of two political regimes of opposing power. On the one hand, there was the reactionary regime of the British colonial authorities, including the British troops, Governors appointed by the King or the proprietors, big and small officials, judges, and police, all representing the interests of the British ruling clique in exploiting and suppressing the people in the colonies. On the other hand, there was the people's revolutionary regime of the colonies in North America. Its basic organs were the Committees of Safety and the Committees of Correspondence in the various counties, cities, and towns. Its intermediate organs were the local legislatures, either newly elected or reorganized in the course of the revolutionary storm. And its supreme organ was the Continental Congress. The colonial people had their own armed forces, which were derived from the militia, either newly formed or reorganized during the revolutionary storm. Except for the pro-British loyalists–the majority of whom were officials appointed by the King, big merchants, noble landlords, and priests of the Anglican Church (all enjoying special privileges), or reactionary intellectuals attached to the privileged class—the people of various strata formed a broad united front against the British colonial rule and in favor of independence. They included farmers, workers, handicraftsmen, Negro slaves and white indentured servants, the bourgeoisie and intellectuals of the bourgeois class, and even the overwhelming majority of plantation owners. All of these elements were called Patriots.

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[4] Boston was a part of Suffolk County.

Despite the fact that people of all classes in the patriotic camp were opposed to the British colonial rule and wanted independence, their class interests and political demands were not identical; in some instances they were even fundamentally opposite. Under the general objective of striving for national independence, Negro slaves and white indentured servants wanted to abolish the system of servitude and fight for their personal freedom; farmers wanted to do away with the feudal land tenancy and strive to get their land; workers and handicraftsmen wanted to resist exploitation and struggle for their democratic rights; and industrial capitalists and plantation owners wanted to wrest from the British colonial authorities the power to exploit and rule over the native working people.

The war for American independence was a revolutionary war of the colonial people in North America to overthrow British colonial rule by the use of violent force.

The first shot of the War for Independence was fired at Lexington in the vicinity of Boston. On the night of April 18, 1775, the Governor of Massachusetts, General Gage, dispatched a contingent of 800 troops to Concord, 27 miles from Boston, to search for ammunition stored by the local militia and to apprehend the prominent leaders of the Patriots. But the Patriots got the news ahead of time. One messenger of the Sons of Liberty named Paul Revere, and a worker, William Davis, rode together in the dark of the night, hastening everywhere to sound the alert. This enabled the militia in the suburbs of Boston to muster swiftly and lie in ambush on both sides of the road to Concord. At dawn of April 19, when the British troops approached Lexington, suddenly gun shots were heard as the militia attacked them. The British were barely able to reach Concord, where they discovered that the ammunition stored by the militia had been moved elsewhere; furthermore, they were met with even more fierce resistance by the militia there. As the British could not maintain their foothold, they withdrew from Concord and returned to Boston the same day, with the militia sniping at them all the way. In this battle of Lexington, there were about 300 British troops killed, wounded, and taken prisoner, while the militia suffered casualties of only several scores of men. The shots fired at Lexington shocked the 13 colonies in North America like a clap of thunder in the spring. Thus the curtain of the War for Independence was raised.

[Picture] *The Battle of Lexington.*

The news of victory in the battle of Lexington evoked the patriotic enthusiasm of the people in the colonies. In a high fighting spirit directed against a common enemy, people everywhere came to the support of the Bostonians by bringing their own weapons and rations, forming ranks, raising banners, and beating their war drums. Within a few days more than 20,000 men were mustered into the ranks of the militia in the outskirts of Boston.

It was during these stirring days that the Second Continental Congress was convened in Philadelphia on May 10, 1775. Now that the war had begun, the sole task of the Congress was to get the people organized to fight it effectively. Under the strong propelling force of the revolutionary people, the Second Continental Congress became the supreme organ of revolutionary power. It ordered the recruitment of volunteers, the printing of paper currency, the purchase of munitions from abroad. It reorganized the militia contingents mustered around the vicinity of Boston into the Continental Army and appointed Washington as commander-in-chief. Washington had some military experience, as he had participated in the war of the colonies against France during the Seven Years' War.

After the battle of Lexington, the militia on the outskirts of Boston encircled the British troops in the city. On June 16, 1775, a militia contingent of 3,000 men occupied the summit of Bunker Hill north of the harbor and from there kept a watch on the British troops below. The next day the British deployed over 2,000 men to fight for this high point, and a bloody battle between the two sides ensued. In this battle of Bunker Hill, these hastily organized militia ranks demonstrated an astonishing fighting ability and heroic spirit. In spite of their inferior weapons and limited ammunition, they displayed marvelous bravery, each vying with the other to forge ahead, and repelled repeated attacks by the British troops. Finally, because of a lack of ammunition they were forced to retire from their battle position, but they had already killed and wounded more than half of the enemy troops, thus destroying the myth of the inability of the militia to fight against the forces of a regular army. In the eyes of the people in the colonies, the battle of Bunker Hill was regarded as a brilliant victory.

On July 3, 1775, Washington assumed the duties of Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army at Cambridge, near Boston. At first, hesitant and irresolute, he did not initiate any attacks against the British troops. Later, pushed by the popular masses, he deployed a major force to encircle Boston, cutting off its land supply line and turning it into a dead port. On March 17, 1776, the British Commander Howe (who had succeeded Gage) was forced to withdraw from Boston and to retreat with his troops to Halifax. Thus Boston, one of the biggest bases of the British army in the colonies of North America, came into the hands of the American people.

Because of the strategic necessity of preventing British troops from using Canada as a huge base for conducting counteroffensives, the Continental Congress decided to attack Canada. It dispatched two contingents to attack Canada from the east and the west. One contingent, led by Richard Montgomery, was to march forward along the Hudson River valley and Lake Champlain. The other, commanded by Benedict Arnold, was to cross the wastelands of Maine and make a frontal attack on Quebec. In November 1775, Montgomery's troops captured the important Canadian city of Montreal. But on December 31 of the same year, Montgomery was killed in the battle of Quebec, and his attacking force had to be withdrawn. Arnold, being isolated and without support, was also forced to leave Canada.

After the colonial people in North America took up armed [illegible] the cruel features of the British ruling [illegible] even more glaringly revealed. In August 1775 King George III declared the colonies in North America to be in a state of "rebellion," of which the "ringleaders" must be severely punished. Following this, the British Government issued decrees cutting off all trade with the colonies, and used naval ships to blockade the colonial ports in North America. No evil deeds were left undone by the British troops along the coast, where they burned, killed, pillaged, and looted at will. They set fire to the ports of Falmouth (now Portland, Me.) and Norfolk in Virginia, turning these prosperous cities into shambled ruins. In January 1776, the British Government concluded agreements with the feudal rulers of several small German principalities whereby 20,000 German mercenaries were recruited and big guns were bought in order to suppress the independence movement of the North American colonies. All these actions served only to intensify the hatred of the colonial people for the British ruling clique.

During the period of the Second Continental Congress, farmers, workers, handicraftsmen, Negroes, fishermen, soldiers, the bourgeoisie and their intellectuals, and even plantation owners in the North American colonies were all ardently longing for independence. The question of independence was discussed everywhere, in farmers' log cabins, in handicraftsmen's workshops, at firesides in soldiers' barracks, at schools and town meetings, and in State legislatures, Committees of Safety, and Committees of Correspondence. "Independence" became the cry of the time, the common demand of the people in North America. Yet the Continental Congress dared not then declare its independence.

Under these historical conditions, there emerged a political writer, Thomas Paine (1737-1809). Born in England and a bourgeois radical democrat, Paine migrated to North America in 1774 and became a magazine editor in Philadelphia. In January 1776 he wrote with a fiery pen a pamphlet entitled *Common Sense* in which he fervently advocated that the colonial people in North America should sever their ties with Britain by declaring their independence. His basic arguments were that all kings were cruel rulers and enemies of the people; that absolute monarchy was in itself the fountain of evil; that the British colonial rule in North America was completely based on selfish interests; that if the people in North America thought they could obtain any concessions from the King, this was only daydreaming; and that only by armed struggle and a declaration of independence could the people in the 13 colonies be united to strive for the rights they were entitled to enjoy. *Common Sense* reflected in concentrated form the demands of the people at the time. For this reason its publication immediately attracted such a large number of readers that in 3 months more than 100,000 copies were printed. Paine's work played a great role in mobilizing public opinion in favor of the independence of the colonies.

On April 12, 1776, a formal resolution was passed by the State legislature of North Carolina conferring full authority on its delegate to the Continental Congress to join with the delegates of other colonies to declare their independence. Shortly thereafter, the State legislatures of Massachusetts and Rhode Island made the same decision. On May 15, 1776, the State legislature of Virginia instructed its delegate to the Continental Congress to submit a formal resolution for independence. On June 7, Richard Henry Lee, delegate from Virginia, proposed the following resolution: "These united colonies should as a matter of course become a free and independent united nation." However, some bourgeois delegates at the Congress were afraid to vote for this resolution, so they nominated Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin (1706-90), and others to form a five-man committee responsible for drafting a declaration explaining to the whole world the reasons for their demand of independence. On July 2, under strong pressure from the popular masses, the Congress adopted a resolution endorsing the Declaration of Independence.

On July 4, 1776, the Second Continental Congress adopted the Declaration of Independence. This document expressed for the first time in outline form the political demands of the bourgeoisie: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. . . ." It enumerated the various acts of tyranny of the English King and concluded by declaring before the whole world "That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved." Afterwards, the people in New York City smashed a bronze statue of King George III and cast its broken pieces into bullets.

The political principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence were generally deduced from the writings of the 17th century English bourgeois political theorist Locke (1632-1704) and the 18th century French bourgeois philosopher Rousseau (1712-78). However, this was the first time that the demands of the bourgeois revolution were presented in the form of a declaration. It became the banner of the war for American independence.

[Picture] *The signing of the Declaration of Independence.*

The Declaration of Independence was an important historical document of the period of the bourgeois revolution. It was a declaration against colonial oppression and feudal oppression. Politically, it played a great mobilizing role at the time and later became the model for the Declaration of the Rights of Man published during the period of the French bourgeois revolution. Therefore, Marx referred to the Declaration of Independence as "the first declaration of the rights of man."[5]

The Declaration of Independence was a declaration of the bourgeois revolution. It was the declaration of the bourgeoisie in the North American colonies demanding to take over political power from the British colonial authorities. The political principles enunciated in it were aimed at protecting the system of capitalist exploitation, thereby legitimizing the interests of the bourgeoisie. In practice, the "people" referred to in the Declaration of Independence only meant the bourgeoisie; and the "right of the pursuit of happiness" was deduced from the "right of property" and intended to stamp the mark of legitimacy on the system of bourgeois exploitation. The Declaration of Independence was signed by 56 persons, of whom 28 were bourgeois lawyers, 13 were big merchants, 8 were plantation slaveowners, and 7 were members of the free professions, but there was not one representative of the working people.

The adoption and publication of the Declaration of Independence marked the birth of America. The original 13 colonies in North America now became the first 13 States in the United States of America. Later the day of July 4 was designated as the National Day of the United States.

The Course of the War for Independence

The war for American independence began with the battle of Lexington on April 19, 1775, and ended with the surrender of British General Cornwallis at Yorktown on October 19, 1781. It lasted 6½ years.

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[5] "Letter to American President Abraham Lincoln," *Complete Works of Marx and Engels.* People's Publishing House, 1964 ed. Vol. 16, p. 20.

The course of the war was marked by twists and turns, but may generally be divided into two stages: the first was from the outbreak of the war to the surrender of British General Burgoyne at Saratoga in October 1777, during which period the main battlefields were in the North; the second was from the entry of France into the war in February 1778 to the end of the war, during which period the war was expanded into an international war, with its main battlefields in the South.

In March 1776, British General Howe retreated from Boston to Halifax, where he regrouped his army to wait for reinforcements and a chance to counterattack. In July 1776, when America had just declared its independence, Howe, in coordination with the British navy from which he had received substantial aid, led an army of 35,000 men to come back to attack New York. Washington was ordered to defend the city. At that time the Continental Army under his command had only 18,000 men, without heavy artillery or a navy, so it was difficult for him to hold New York, which was surrounded by water on three sides. Washington fought the British troops in the outskirts of New York for several months, but after a few fierce battles with heavy casualties he had to withdraw from New York and retreat to New Jersey. On December 8, when his troops were ferried across the Delaware River to retreat westward, the remnant of his army numbered only 5,000 men. However, the firm resolve of the American people for independence enabled Washington to fight on. At Christmas (December 25) 1776, Washington caught the enemy unprepared when he launched his counterattack. Aided by the local fishermen, his troops crossed the icy waters of the Delaware River on a cold winter night, and with a move as swift as a clap of thunder leaving no time to cover the ears, they captured Trenton, an important city in New Jersey, and took prisoner 1,000 German mercenaries in the British army. Following this, on January 3, 1777, Washington, again using the tactic of a surprise attack at night, defeated the army of General Cornwallis at Princeton. The victories at Trenton and Princeton greatly heartened the morale of the people and turned the tide of the war.

In September 1777, the British, relying on their naval strength, sent troops by sea to attack Philadelphia, the site of the Continental Congress and the biggest city in America at the time. When the British occupied Philadelphia, they were very overbearing and swaggered like conquering heroes. Washington led his troops to engage them in the outskirts of the city, but after repeated defeats he was obliged to retreat to Valley Forge to spend the cold winter. At Valley Forge the situation of the Continental Army was extremely hard. Washington wrote: "These soldiers, without enough clothing during the day and blankets to cover them at night, have to march barefoot because they have no shoes; they can be traced by the marks of blood left by their feet; and they are without food almost all the time. . . ." But all this was but a temporary hardship. Despite the loss of Philadelphia, the armed forces of the American people had won a great victory in battle at Saratoga.

In June 1777, British General Burgoyne led an army of 8,000 men from Canada on a march southward along the Hudson River valley to meet with the British troops occupying New York in a pincers attack, trying to cut off the link between the States of New England and the other States. However, as soon as Burgoyne's men entered upon American soil, they were quickly trapped by the encirclement of the American people. First they met attacks by the New England militia contingents who blocked their way. The militia cut roads and destroyed bridges, making it impossible for the British to advance a single step. Burgoyne was hit from all directions and could not get military supplies, so he was forced to retreat to Saratoga, an important city in northern New York. At that moment militia contingents from various areas and the Continental Army took advantage of their victories by pursuing the enemy and encircling his troops in Saratoga from all sides. On October 17, 1777, Burgoyne, having exhausted his supplies of food and ammunition, surrendered with the remnant of his troops, numbering 5,600 men. The great victory at Saratoga was mainly a victory for the militia. It fully demonstrated the strength of the American people, greatly heightened their confidence in inevitable victory, and reversed the situation of the entire war.

The victory at Saratoga marked the end of the first stage of the war for American independence. Thereafter, the war was to be expanded into an international war.

The American people fervently hoped to receive

[Map] *Situation map of the War for American Independence.* [Major map features show routes of main British and American military campaigns and identify sites of major battles.]

aid from the countries of Europe. As early as March 1776, the Continental Congress had dispatched Silas Deane to Paris to promote their cause. After the declaration of independence, Franklin was appointed by the Congress as special envoy to Paris, to engage in diplomatic work along with Deane. At that time, deep contradictions existed between the countries of continental Europe, in particular between France and Great Britain. Because of resentment against Britain for seizing their colonies during the Seven Years' War, the French sought retaliation, even an opportunity to recover Canada from Britain. French King Louis XVI openly stated: "We are pursuing our own objective. Britain's influence will be weakened by the independence of its colonies. . . ." However, as France was not sure of the outcome of the war, it vacillated at first, and only decided to participate when it heard the news of the great victory of the American forces at Saratoga. In February 1778, France formally recognized the independence of the United States, and a treaty of military alliance with it was signed. This treaty provided that France would support the war for American independence with land and naval forces as well as money, while the United States would accord France "most-favored-nation treatment" in commercial relations and would also aid France in defending its colonies in the West Indies. In June 1779, Spain also joined France in the war against Britain, with a view to recovering Gibraltar, Majorca Island, and Florida, its colony in North America, all of which had been seized from Spain by Britain.

At that time, in addition to fighting on the American continent, French and Spanish fleets also engaged the British navy in the Atlantic. As Britain, relying on its naval superiority, behaved recklessly by stopping, searching, and firing on neutral merchant ships on the high seas, Russia, in concert with Prussia, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and other countries, formed in 1780 an Armed Neutrality League to protect the navigation of neutral ships. The League broke the British sea blockade against America, thereby benefiting the Americans. In December 1780, Holland, whose commercial interests had been undermined by Britain, also entered the war on the side of France and Spain against Britain. Thus the British were encircled by enemies on all sides.

The American people took advantage of the contradictions between Britain and the European countries and utilized them in their strategy to gain victory in the war for American independence. In this connection, Lenin pointed out: "When the American people waged their great war of liberation against the British oppressors, they had also against them the French and Spanish oppressors who owned a part of what is now the United States of North America. In their arduous war for freedom, the American people entered into 'agreements' with some oppressors against others, for the purpose of weakening the oppressors and strengthening those who were fighting in a revolutionary manner against oppression and for the purpose of serving the interests of the oppressed people. The American people took advantage of the strife between the French, the Spanish, and the British; sometimes they even fought side by side with the forces of the French and Spanish oppressors against the British oppressors; first they defeated the British, and then they freed themselves (partly by ransom) from the French and the Spanish."[6]

More important, the American people obtained the vigorous support of the revolutionary democratic people in European countries. After the outbreak of the War for Independence, French bourgeois statesman Lafayette (1757-1834), born of nobility but with democratic inclinations, and French nihilist socialist Saint-Simon (1760-1825), as well as Polish revolutionaries Pulaski (1748?-79) and Kosciuszko (1746-1817), crossed the ocean to serve as volunteers in the revolutionary army commanded by Washington and fought for the cause of justice. During the entire war period, 7,000 people came from various countries of Europe to take part in the war, and many sacrificed their precious lives for the sake of American independence. At the same time, the British people, in their struggle against the British ruling clique—in particular the struggle of the Irish people against Britain—also vigorously supported the movement for American independence.

After the French participation in the war began, the war for American independence entered its second stage. In June 1778, the French fleet came to the American shores, forcing the British to withdraw from Philadelphia. In July 1780, the first contingent of the French army, numbering 6,000 men under the command of General Rochambeau, arrived at Newport, R.I.

During the second stage of the war, its center shifted to the South. The British army wanted to utilize the conservative influence in the southern areas to retrieve their unfavorable situation, so they took the offensive in the South. In December 1778, they captured the important port of Savannah, Ga., and used it as a wedge to go on into the interior of the South. In May 1780, British troops went all out on the offensive and took the important port of Charleston, S.C., and from there they marched north in an attempt to restore their colonial rule in the whole of the South. At this juncture the forces of the Continental Army, sent south by the Continental Congress to resist the British, were badly defeated in the Battle of Camden. However, the people of the South rose to defend themselves by forming guerilla bands and using mobile and flexible warfare to engage the enemy. In October 1780, the militia guerilla bands of the south annihilated one major column of the British army in the Battle of King's Mountain. This victory changed the situation of the war, and the American forces immediately turned to the offensive. General Cornwallis became unable to hold his ground in the South, as his forces were steadily reduced by attrition. In the end he was compelled to retreat to the port city of Yorktown, Va., where he waited for the British fleet to come to his rescue.

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[6] "Letter to American Workers," *Selected Works of Lenin*, People's Publishing House, 1972 ed. Vol. 3, pp. 591-92.

By this time the situation had undergone a fundamental change, with the British army turning from a superior to an inferior position and the American from an inferior to a superior position. The time for decisive battle had finally come.

Following the retreat of Cornwallis' forces into Yorktown, the southern militia guerilla bands and the French fleet came hard on their heels. In early September 1781, a French naval squadron of 36 ships led by Admiral de Grasse defeated the British navy outside the port of Yorktown, cutting off completely the supply lines from the sea. Washington was then quartering his troops in the vicinity of New York. When he heard the news, he immediately combined his forces with those of the French led by General Rochambeau, as well as those under Lafayette, and rushed south to encircle the British at Yorktown. After struggling doggedly for a while, Cornwallis, having exhausted his strength and energy, led his army of 8,000 to surrender on October 19, 1781. As the British troops in their trim uniforms stepped in front of the shabbily clad American forces to lay down their arms, the American army band played the tune "The World Turned Upside Down."

After the Battle of Yorktown, the war for American independence had essentially been won. In the course of the war, the American people had overcome all kinds of hardships and obstacles, and had fought valiantly and persistently to win their ultimate brilliant victory. The victory of the war for American independence eloquently proved: the destiny of history is decided by the popular masses, for regardless of how retrograde and rampant the reactionaries may be for a time, they will inevitably be ground to dust by the wheels of history in the end.

[Picture] *The surrender of the British army at Yorktown.*

During the time of the war, America began its westward expansion on a large scale. From the first, the colonies in North America had been founded on the corpses of the Indians. The British army, taking advantage of the contradictions between the Americans and the Indians, enticed the latter to fight on their side. Following their victory in the war, the American rulers took the opportunity of seizing lands from the Indians. From 1778 to 1779, George Clark, heading an armed band organized by land seekers from Virginia, crossed the Ohio River in a westward thrust and captured Vincennes, thus paving the way for further American expansion into the west. In 1779 Washington sent John Sullivan with a force of soldiers to "annihilate" the Iroquois Indian tribe then settled in northern New York. In his instructions to Sullivan, Washington wrote: "The present aim is to completely smash and flatten their settlement, take as many prisoners as possible, the more the better, whether they are men or women, old or young. . . . You must not only mop up their settlement, but destroy it." Thus at the time of its founding, America had already nakedly exposed its aggressive character.

On September 3, 1783, Britain and America signed the Paris Peace Treaty. This treaty provided for recognition by the British Crown of the United States (the original 13 British colonies in North America) as a free, self-governing, and independent nation, and for the acquisition by the United States of the vast territories west of the Appalachian Mountain range and east of the Mississippi River. The newly defined boundary of the United States of America was: on the north, Canada and the Great Lakes region; on the east, the Atlantic Ocean; on the south, Florida; and on the west, the eastern bank of the Mississippi River. Thus the land area of America become twice what it was at the time of the declaration of independence.

[Map] *The political situation in North America after the conclusion of the Paris Peace Treaty of 1783.* [Major map features show territory of the United States and possessions of foreign powers on the North American continent.]

The Paris Peace Treaty was concluded according to the proposed draft of the American delegates. It satisfied the demands of the American bourgeoisie. But it also had its compromising aspects, because it provided that British creditors were entitled to collect their debts from American debtors in hard currency and that the American Congress should recommend that the various States adopt measures for returning confiscated property of British subjects and loyalist elements to their original owners. These two provisions, however, were not strictly carried out because they were opposed by the American people.

At the time of the signing of the peace treaty with America, Britain also concluded peace with France and Spain. This treaty of peace provided for Spanish occupation of the territory west of the Mississippi River, and for Spain's regaining Florida and also Majorca Island in the western Mediterranean, which had been lost to Britain in the past. But Britain retained the important military base of Gibraltar at the southern tip of Spain. France regained Tobago in the West Indies and took Senegal on the West African coast. But Britain still possessed the vast territory of Canada. This peace treaty covered the partition of territories and colonial interests among Britain, France, and Spain.

The war for American independence was a war of national liberation, fought by the American people to break away from the oppression of British colonial rule. At that time imperial Britain was a first-rate world power with a population of 30 million, whereas America had a population of only 3 million. Britain had a numerically superior army with many experienced military commanders and excellent weapons, while the armed strength of the American people was basically composed of a militia with little military training and poor weapons and supplies. At the time Britain possessed the world's strongest navy, which could be used to transport troops and supplies and effectively blockade American ports, while America had no navy to speak of. Britain was an imperial country with vast colonies. In North America it held Canada, Florida, and the West Indies, and could use these bases to attack America, whereas America was almost encircled by the enemy on all sides. As a comparatively developed capitalist country, Britain had greater economic strength, while the American economy at the time was still that of a backward colony. However, all these [factors] were superficial, relative, and temporary. The balance sheet of forces is not confined to a comparison of economic and military strength. More important is the balance sheet with regard to manpower and spirit. As to the nature of this war, it was an unjust and aggressive war on the British side, and a just war of national liberation on the American side. He who upholds justice gets help, he who forsakes justice does not. At that time Britain was isolated and helpless, while America received wide sympathy and aid from abroad. Among the troops that Britain used to suppress the people in North America were many mercenaries hired from small principalities in Germany, so their morale was low. On the other hand, the American troops were an army of the people. They were unafraid of violence and brave in battle. These differences in character enabled the American people gradually to turn an inferior situation into a superior one, thereby defeating Britain and ultimately securing their independence.

The war for American independence was a war of the masses. In the colonies of North America workers, farmers, handicraftsmen, seamen, fishermen, and the like were the main forces in this revolutionary war. They took an active part in the war by organizing militia contingents to attack British troops everywhere. During the war the broad masses and the soldiers braved cold and hunger, overcoming all kinds of hardships and persisting in carrying the revolutionary war through to its victorious conclusion.

During the war patriotic women also played a big role. They warmly supported the War for Independence and freedom in all ways. While men went to the front, they took over the tasks of production in the rear. They tilled fields and wove cloth, and sent food, garments, and other articles to support the front. When Washington was in a precarious situation retreating with his Continental Army into Pennsylvania, the women of Philadelphia raised a huge fund of almost £300,000 to procure winter clothes for the revolutionary army. This event deeply moved the fighters. Under fire on the battlefields, women risked their lives for the Continental Army to bring ammunition, transmit intelligence, and rescue the wounded. Some even served as artillery gunners and performed glorious war deeds. The victory in the war for

American independence was inseparable from the efforts of patriotic women.

During the war for American independence Negroes also made great contributions. In America at that time there were 600,000 Negroes, making up one-fifth of the total population. This was quite a large force. Because the plantation owners and the bourgeoisie stubbornly maintained the evil system of Negro slavery, 550,000 of the 600,000 Negroes were enslaved like beasts, devoid of any personal freedom. After the outbreak of the war, America not only failed to organize the Negroes but guarded them even more closely, thus intensifying their oppression. This seriously impeded their participation in the war. It was also one of the important reasons why the war for American independence was slow in achieving victory. Be that as it may, the Negroes still played a great role in the war. During the war, at least 5,000 Negroes fought in the American revolutionary army. In 1778, the batallions of Washington's Continental Army had an average of 54 Negroes each. There were Negroes fighting in every important battle; they fought bravely and well and repeatedly established records of distinction. In the struggle for American independence, blood was shed in common by Negroes and whites alike.

Since the war for American independence was a war of national liberation, a war of the masses, so in the course of it the American army made new and important creative contributions in tactics. These played a definite role in enabling the American people to win victory. In the 18th century, European armies were arrayed in fixed-line formations for fighting on the plains, but the revolutionary army led by Washington was the first to adopt mobile and flexible formations for dispersed warfare. Because his men knew what they were fighting for, their morale was high; because they were fighting on their own soil, they were familiar with conditions; and because they were operationally mobile and flexible, they could fight in dispersed formations that afforded the fullest scope for their fighting ability. Whether they conducted surprise raids by special columns, encirclement by heavy concentrations, or attacks in heavy fog, rain, or snow, and especially when they fought at night or in close quarters, they were able to beat the enemy, making him dizzy and exhausted from running. With respect to this kind of innovation in war tactics, Engels pointed out: "During the war for American independence, the contingents of the rebels fought against inflexible line formations. Although the rebels were not well-drilled, they could still fire effectively from their muzzle-loading guns; they were fighting for their own vital interests, so they could not flee from battle like the mercenaries; they did not fight as the British had anticipated, in fixed line formation on the plains, but rather used their swift, mobile dispersed groups hidden in the forest to ambush the British troops. Under these conditions the fixed line formation was useless, and so the British were beaten by an enemy who could not be seen or confronted. Thus they [the Americans] invented the dispersed formation in warfare a new form of warfare produced by a change in the composition of the fighting forces."[7]

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The Historical Significance of the War for American Independence

The war for American independence was a bourgeois revolution against colonial oppression and feudal oppression. It was the first revolution in American history.

The victory in the War for Independence enabled the 13 States in North America to cast off the bonds of British colonialism and become an independent and self-governing bourgeois democratic republic. All the injunctions promulgated by the British Government in the past were burned to ashes in the angry fire set by the revolutionary people. The economic structure and the social complexion of the colonial period were subjected to vast changes, and certain vestiges of feudalism were swept away. The 13 States were politically united into one entity, thereby promoting the development of a national economy.

In *Das Kapital,* Marx pointed out: "The war for American independence in the 18th century sounded an alarm for the bourgeoisie of Europe."[8] The war for American independence awakened Europe and hastened the outbreak of the French bourgeois revolution.

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[7] *Anti-Duhring.* People's Publishing House, 1970 ed. Pp. 165-66.

[8] *Das Kapital.* Vol. 1, *Preface to the First Edition. Complete Works of Marx.* People's Publishing House, 1972 ed. Vol. 23, p.11.

The war for American independence provided a successful precedent for the colonial independence and national liberation movements of the oppressed peoples. Under its impact, in the early part of the 19th century the people of Latin America successively launched revolutionary struggles against Spanish and Portuguese colonial rule and established, one after another, more than 20 independent nations.

In his letter to American workers in 1918, Lenin affirmed the historical meaning of the war for American independence in this way: "The history of modern, civilized America began with one of those great, really liberating, really revolutionary wars; . . . that was the war the American people waged against the British robbers who oppressed America and held her in colonial slavery."[9]

As a bourgeois revolution against colonial oppression and feudal oppression, the war for American independence had a great progressive significance in American history, but at the same time it also had the limitations of a bourgeois revolution. A bourgeois revolution is really only one exploiting group replacing another in seizing and holding power. The victory in the war for American independence only enabled the bourgeoisie and the plantation slaveowners to grasp political power, while the broad masses of the people were still relegated to an exploited and oppressed status.

The popular masses are the masters of history. During the war for American independence, workers, handicraftsmen, farmers, and Negroes made up the vast majority of the working people in the population. They not only opposed the British colonial rule, but they also wanted to push the revolution to a still higher stage.

The American people are a great people. They have a revolutionary tradition. At present, they are in a state of new awakening. We believe that the American people will make still greater contributions to the cause of human progress in the future.

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[9] *Selected Works of Lenin.* People's Publishing House, 1972 ed. Vol. 3, p. 586.

12. INDIA

The American Revolution[a]

While some Englishmen were battling at home for improvements of Parliament and reforms in religion, others were adventuring across the Atlantic to establish colonies and trade in the Americas. . . . Early in the 17th century European countries began to make settlements there. In North America, colonies were established by France, Holland, and Spain as well as by England. In the 18th century, England drove France out of the eastern part of the continent and Canada. She had taken New Netherlands from the Dutch earlier, changing its name to New York.

The English Colonies in America

By the middle of the 18th century there were 13 English colonies in North America along the Atlantic Coast. Landless peasants, people seeking religious freedom, traders, and profiteers had settled there. The bulk of the population consisted of independent farmers. Infant industries had developed in such products as wool, flax, and leather. In the north there were fishing and ship-building. In the south, large plantations like feudal manors had grown up where tobacco and cotton were grown with slave labourers brought from Africa. Trade between the colonists and Europe had become lively and prosperous.

Each colony had a local assembly elected by qualified voters. These assemblies enacted laws concerning local matters, levied taxes and developed skill in self-government. However, they were under the rule of the mother country. By the 18th century, the colonists found the laws which the English Government imposed upon them more and more objectionable. The idea of being an independent nation grew and developed into the Revolutionary War in which the colonists gained their independence.

Causes of American War of Independence

The colonial policy of England in economic matters was the primary cause of resentment in the American colonies. . . . [I]n Europe at this time, the theories of mercantilism dominated the policies of all governments. England's application of mercantilism meant that the American colonies could not develop an economy of their own. The British Parliament had forbidden them to use non-British ships in their trade. Certain products such as tobacco, cotton and sugar could be exported only to England. Heavy duties were imposed on the import of goods in the colonies from other places. The colonies were also forbidden to start certain industries, for example, iron works and textiles. They were forced to import these goods from England. Thus, in every possible way, the growth of industry and trade of the colonies was impeded.

The British also angered the colonists by issuing a proclamation to prevent them from moving west into new lands. English aristocrats had bought lands in America and got rents from the farmers. They wanted to keep the colonists as rentors. But many colonists rebelled against the authorities, moved into the wilderness and occupied land by hook or by crook.

As a result of continuous wars in Europe the British Government was burdened with debt. It needed money. In 1765, the British Parliament passed the Stamp Act which imposed stamp taxes on all business transactions with the American colonies. Revenue stamps up to 20 shillings were to be affixed to newspapers, legal documents and other papers. This act aroused violent resentment among all sections of the colonists and led them to boycott British goods. There were uprisings in many towns and tax collectors were killed. The colonists claimed that since the British Parliament had no representative from the colonies, it had no right to levy taxes on them. The revenue from these taxes, they said, was used not in the interests of the colonies but for the British empire.

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[a] Compilers' Note.–From K.S. Yajnik, R.H.Dave, Lora Tibbets, Om Prakash, B. Ghesh, T.S. Mehta, Q.M. Zaidi, R. Vajreshwari, and Arjum Dev's *Social Studies: A Textbook for Secondary Schools.* Vol. I (rev. ed.), New Delhi: National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT), 1973. Pp 181-89. Reproduced here with permission of NCERT, New Delhi, India. The material is designed for the 9th or 10th year of an 11-year primary-secondary school cycle. (Original in English.)

[Picture] *Thomas Paine. Political philosopher, fiery orator and prolific writer, he published a constant stream of articles and pamphlets (among others,* Rights of Man and Common Sense*), urged people in England, America and France to fight for their liberty and became an international revolutionary.*

The American revolutionaries were inspired by the ideas of English philosophers of the 17th century. These philosophers—Locke, Harrington, Milton—believed that men had certain fundamental rights which no government had the right to infringe. American thinkers, especially Thomas Jefferson, were also inspired by what French philosophers were saying and writing at that time. Jefferson asserted the colonists' right to rebellion, and encouraged their increasing desire for independence. Support for independence was forcefully expressed by Thomas Paine, who detested the inequalities of English society, and had come to America. In a pamphlet called *Common Sense*, he wrote, "It was repugnant to reason to suppose that this Continent can long remain subject to any external power. . . there is something absurd in supposing a Continent to be perpetually governed by an island."

The Massachusetts Assembly

Leaders in the Massachusetts Colony called together representatives from other colonies to consider their common problems. They agreed and declared that the British Parliament had no right to levy taxes on them. "No taxation without representation" was the slogan they adopted. And they threatened to stop the import of British goods. The threat led Britain to repeal the Stamp Act, but Parliament still insisted that it had the right to levy taxes. Then Parliament imposed a tax on consumer goods coming into the colonies such as paper, glass, tea, and paint. Again the colonies objected saying that only their own assemblies had the right to raise money through taxes. In protest, the colonies cut down the British imports by one-half. The British withdrew the plan, leaving only the tax on tea to assert their right to levy taxes.

[Picture] *Riots over the Stamp Act. Demonstrations broke out throughout the American colonies the day the Stamp Act went into effect. The illustration shows burning of stamps in the street.*

The Boston Tea Party

The tax on tea led to trouble. In 1773, several colonies refused to unload the tea coming in English ships. In Boston, when the governor ordered a ship to be unloaded, a group of citizens, dressed as American Indians, boarded the ship and dumped the crates of tea into the water. Historians have called this 'the Boston Tea Party'. The British Government then closed the port of Boston to all trade and precipitated the uprising of the colonies.

The Philadelphia Congress and the Declaration of Independence

The representatives of the thirteen American colonies met as a group in what is called the First Continental Congress at Philadelphia in 1774. This congress appealed to the British King to remove restrictions on industries and trade and not to impose any taxes without their consent. The king declared their action a mutiny and ordered troops to be sent to suppress it. The colonies then planned for military defense with local troops or militia. In 1775, the first battle of the Revolution was fought when a thousand British soldiers met the colonial militia in Lexington, Massachusetts.

On July 4, 1776, the Second Continental Congress adopted the *Declaration of Independence*. It contained truly revolutionary ideas. The Declaration asserted "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these rights are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness". The Declaration advanced the principle that the people are the source of authority and affirmed the people's right to set up their own government. The Declaration also stated that the American colonies had been oppressed by the British Government and that "these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states." Up to this time the colonists had been fighting for their rights as Englishmen. After the Declaration in 1776, they fought for their right to be an independent nation.

[Picture] *The destruction of tea at Boston harbour.*

The War of Independence

George Washington was put in command of the American forces. He had experience in fighting the French in America. The first battle took place in and around Boston. Then Britain sent a force to Canada with the plan to march it south to meet another British force, and so cut the American colonies in half. But a British general spoilt the plan. As the British marched south, the Americans met and defeated them. This victory of the rough American militiamen against a trained British force gave the Americans confidence. The French Government now decided to help the colonies with troops, supplies and funds–to embarrass Britain, France's old enemy. Others enemies of Britain, Spain and Holland, were soon fighting the British elsewhere.

Meanwhile, trouble was brewing for Britain at home. There was a threat of rebellion in Ireland; strong leaders in Parliament were opposing the war with the colonists. The war ended in 1781 when the British commander, Cornwallis, later to become governor-general in India, surrendered. Two years later, in 1783, the Treaty of Paris was signed and Britain recognized the independence of its former thirteen colonies.

[Picture] *The Declaration of Independence. The illustration shows the first few lines of the Declaration* [in script] *drafted by Thomas Jefferson. The draft was approved after a few minor changes.*

The American Constitution

When the war of independence started, each of the thirteen colonies was a separate state with its own army, boundaries, customs duties and finances. But they co-operated against a common enemy. In 1781, as states of the United States, they united through a plan for a national government called the Articles of Confederation. They sent their representatives to the Congress, but the national government under the Articles was very weak. It could not levy taxes, nor regulate trade between the states. It had no rights over the states and their people. There was jealousy and quarrelling. The new nation was about to fall apart. A constitutional convention was called in Philadelphia to frame a new constitution which came into effect in 1789. It established a republican form of government at a time when states in other parts of the world were governed by monarchies. The American Constitution set up a federal system under which powers were divided between a central or federal government and the state governments.

[Picture] *Signing of the Declaration of Independence. The painting by John Trumbull shows standing, center, left to right: John Adams, Roger Sherman, Robert Livingstone, Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin.*

Under the constitution, the federal government became the supreme authority, though the individual states retained a considerable amount of independence in local matters. The executive functions were separated from the legislative or law-making functions. A president, elected for a term of four years, was the chief executive authority. The American Congress, or law-making body, consisted of two houses–the House of Representatives, whose members were elected by each state on the basis of population, and the Senate made up of two members from each state. The Supreme Court was the chief judicial authority in the country and had very wide powers. It was the guardian of the constitution and had the power to declare laws unconstitutional.

Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, and his followers campaigned for the addition of a Bill of Rights to the federal constitution. This was done through ten amendments which guaranteed many rights to the American people. The most noted of these are freedom of speech, press, and religion, and justice under law.

The constitution marked the emergence of the United States of America as a nation in world history. It was the first republican constitution ever framed in history and is still in operation.

[Map] *United States of America in about A.D. 1850.* [Major map features indicate area included in the 13 original colonies and the various main territorial acquisitions involved in the westward expansion of the United States.]

Significance of the American Revolution

The words of the Declaration of Independence regarding the equality of all men and the 'unalienable rights' of man electrified the atmosphere in America and outside. Lafayette, the French general who fought on the side of American revolutionaries, was soon to become a hero of the French Revolution. Thomas Paine, a kind of international revolutionary, also participated in the French Revolution. By its example, the American Revolution inspired many revolutionaries in France and revolutions in Europe later in the 19th century. It encouraged Spanish and Portuguese colonies in Central and South America to rebel and gain their independence.

The new achievement of the American Revolution was the establishment of a republic. The republic was not truly democratic. The right to vote was limited. Negroes–still more so American Indians, and women had no vote. Election laws in all states favored men of property for many years. But progress towards democracy began. In some states, state religion was abolished, along with religious qualifications for holding public offices. The foundations of aristocracy were attacked, by abolishing such privileges as *quit-rents* and titles. But for slavery, compared with other governments at that time, the American republic was very democratic.

13. GREAT BRITAIN

The End of an Empire, 1775-1783[a]

By the beginning of 1775 the stands respectively taken by the British government and by the colonial leaders pointed inexorably to armed conflict. Only a substantial surrender by one side or the other could avert it. Neither was inclined to such a step. In the eyes of the colonists, to give way to acts of power would be an abdication of their status as free men. In a letter of October 1774, which doubtless reflected the past weeks of earnest, passionate discussion at Williamsburg and Philadelphia, Washington rebuked an old military associate, now likely soon to be found on the opposing side.[1]

> You reason from effects, not causes; otherwise you would not wonder at a people who are every day receiving fresh proofs of a systematic assertion of an arbitrary power, deeply planned to overturn the laws and constitution of their country, and to violate the most essential and valuable rights of mankind, being irritated and with difficulty restrained from acts of the greatest violence and intemperance. . . . It is not the wish or interest of that government [Massachusetts] or any other upon this continent, separately or collectively, to set up for independency; but this you may at the same time rely on, that none of them will ever submit to the loss of those valuable rights and privileges which are essential to the happiness of every free State, and without which life, liberty and property are rendered totally insecure.

Not even a return to the relatively harmonious working system of the Walpolean era would now satisfy the colonists. The definition of claims by the British government during the last twelve years had provoked opposing definitions in America, and it was clear that only on a basis of total legislative independence in domestic matters would the relationship with Great Britain now be tolerable.

On the other hand, by the end of 1774, the British government was obdurately convinced of and committed to the view, that a dominant minority in the colonies was aiming at independence, and that either British authority must be reasserted in the colonies (at this stage, more particularly in Massachusetts), or else the whole fabric of empire would dissolve and Britain sink back into the role of a minor power. Faced with such an apparent catastrophe they were prepared to risk civil war within the Empire—would indeed have already run the risk and reaped its consequences had there been sufficient troops in Boston for Gage to attempt to follow his instructions. Early in 1775, as soon as Parliament met, extra troops and naval forces were voted, and reinforcements were dispatched to Boston. The New England provinces were proclaimed to be in a state of rebellion, and an Act was passed restraining them from all trade and from participation in the Newfoundland fisheries until submission was made. As one province after another made known its sympathy for New England, these restraints were soon afterwards extended to most of the other colonies. In the debates which accompanied these measures, ministers rested their case almost exclusively on the need to secure a clear admission of subordination from the colonies. They brushed aside opposition warnings, that the colonists, in resisting parliamentary taxation, were united on firm constitutional ground, and that to exact submission by military force was impracticable. In their eyes the willingness expressed by the Continental Congress to abide by the commercial restraints in existence before 1763 was insufficient. Before any concessions were made, Parliament's authority must be acknowledged and the relief claimed by the colonies sought as a matter of grace, not as a matter of right. If this surrender were made there would, ministers hinted, be generous treatment of grievances, including the abandonment of parliamentary taxation. Early in February, in a general debate on the American situation, North declared: 'He did not mean to tax America . . . if they would submit, and leave to us the constitutional right of supremacy, the quarrel would be at an end.'[2] In the Commons majorities phenomenal by eighteenth century standards supported the ministers' policy, the government vote often approaching, occasionally exceeding, 300, well over half the total membership of the House.

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[a] Compilers' Note.–From I. R. Christe's *Crisis of Empire; Great Britain and the American Colonies 1754-1783.* Foundations of Modern History Series. London: Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd., 1966. Pp. 94-107. Reproduced with permission of the W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., New York. The material is used in the 12th or 13th year of a 13-year primary-secondary school cycle. (Original in English.)

[1] *The Writings of George Washington*, ed. John C. Fitzpatrick, 39 v. (Washington, 1931-44), III, pp. 385-86.

A fortnight later North presented 'conciliatory propositions' to the Commons, and he revealed the extreme limit of concession which the ministers were prepared to make until after they had experienced military defeat. The substance of these proposals was that, provided the colonists would make sufficient and permanent provision for the support of their civil government and the administration of justice, and for defense, and in time of war contribute extraordinary supplies in a reasonable proportion to what was raised in Great Britain, then—for so long and no longer—there would be no resort to parliamentary taxation. Parliament would still exercise the power of controlling trade, but the yield of any taxation incidental to such legislation would be paid into the treasury of the colony concerned; and any representation from any colony proposing changes in the commercial regulations would be given full consideration. Action would be taken to put the propositions into effect as soon as acceptable proposals were received from any colony.[3]

North's proposition had the apparent merit of placing the colonists in a position of taxing themselves if they accepted the accompanying conditions. The principle of 'no taxation without representation' would thus seem to be conceded. Some of the more conservative colonial leaders were inclined to believe that this concession was all that was necessary and wished to explore the possibilities of conciliation on this ground. But at bottom the proposals were entirely unacceptable to American opinion. In reality they represented much less of a concession than the legislation of 1766—for if the colonies were to make ample, permanent provision for all governmental services, they would lose that financial control over the executive which they had gradually built up during the century and which they now correctly regarded as one essential feature of a free political society. The provincial executives would be left free to act as the agents of the imperial government: central control would increase and local autonomy be further eroded. And the concession of 'no taxation without representation' was quite illusory. The colonists would tax themselves under threat and without being left any discretion. As one parliamentary critic pointed out, the proposals amounted to the threat: 'Give me as much as I wish, till I say enough, or I will take it from you.'[4] All the signs pointed to a demand for greater exactions than had been attempted by the retention of the tea duty in 1770. In America the implications were fully realized. The Virginia House of Burgesses commented:

> The British government has no right to intermeddle with the support of civil government in the colonies. For us, not for them, has government been instituted here. . . . We cannot conceive that any other legislature has a right to prescribe either the number or pecuniary appointment of our officers. . . . We have a right to give our money as the Parliament does theirs, without coercion. . . . It is not merely the mode of raising, but the freedom of granting our money for which we have contended, without which we possess no check on the royal prerogative.[5]

North's propositions were a manoeuvre, not a concession; and as a manoeuvre they failed. They conceded none of the substance demanded by colonial opinion and they failed entirely to drive a wedge between New England and the other colonies. Only in Parliament did the government gain. Some of the independents were satisfied that a gesture of conciliation had been made; and a number of members, by vehemently denouncing the ministers for yielding too much, confirmed the acceptability of a firm policy towards the colonies.

In the early months of 1775 Chatham and Burke both offered proposals for conciliation with the colonies.

Chatham's Conciliation Bill started from a premise which by now had been overtaken by events. It recited that the colonies 'have been, are, and of right ought to be dependent upon the imperial crown of

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[2] *The Parliamentary History*, xviii, cols. 264-5.

[3] *Ibid.*, col. 319-22.

[4] *Ibid.*, col. 350 (Hartley).

[5] Cited, T.J. Wertenbaker, *Give me Liberty. The struggle for self-government in Virginia* (Phil., 1958).

Great Britain, and subordinate unto the British Parliament'. It affirmed Parliament's right to control trade and the Crown's right to make troop dispositions in the colonies at its discretion. Chatham offered a number of specific concessions which would have met certain particular colonial grievances: recognition of and negotiation through congress, and its erection into a permanent imperial institution; renunciation of any use of the military against the liberties of the Americans; statutory abandonment of any claim to taxing power; assurances of the inviolability of colonial charters and constitutions save in case of legal forfeiture; abrogation of all Acts which interfered with trial by jury in the colonies and the appointment of judges 'during good behaviour', as in Britain; and suspension of all other statutes passed since 1764 against which there was complaint, to be followed by their repeal when congress had made formal recognition of the supremacy of Parliament. But although Chatham stressed the theoretical sole power of the colonial assemblies to impose taxation upon the colonists, no more than the ministers was he prepared to capitulate completely on the financial issue, and his plan envisaged a grant of a permanent revenue by the colonists which would be at the disposal not of their own assemblies but of Parliament.[6] In the tense atmosphere of 1775 there was little chance of the colonists complying with this condition; in any case, majority opinion in Parliament was dead against concession.

Burke's proposals, offered in the Commons a few weeks later, came nearer to providing ground for conciliation, but by 1775 they were probably unacceptable to the colonists, as they certainly were to the majority in Parliament.[7] Believing that the government should come to terms with realities and acknowledge both the material power and the intellectual premises of the colonists, Burke argued that an empire was an aggregate of many states under one common head, in which the subordinate parts had extensive local privileges and immunities. The line between these privileges and the supreme authority might be impossible to draw, and frequently there would be disputes as to where it lay. But in such instances–and specifically in the case of taxation then at issue–the only satisfactory solution was to achieve compromises acceptable in practice to all the parties concerned and to avoid insistence on questions of right. The real issue, Burke declared was, 'not whether you have a right to render your people miserable; but whether it is not your interest to make them happy. It is not what a lawyer tells me I *may* do; but what humanity, reason, and justice tell me I ought to do.' He rightly insisted, that the ordinary commercial intercourse between Britain and the colonies fostered by self-interest was worth far more to Britain than any advantage that might be grudgingly obtained by the assertion of supreme authority. Any financial contribution to imperial expenditure should be obtained on a voluntary basis as before 1763. Questions of right should be buried in oblivion. In this spirit he proposed the resolution: 'That it hath been found by experience, that the manner of granting the said supplies and aids, by the said general assemblies, hath been more agreeable to the inhabitants of the said colonies, and more beneficial and conductive to the public service, than the mode of giving and granting aids and subsidies in parliament to be raised and paid in the said colonies.' With that rare imaginative grasp which, though not in itself alone constituting high statesmanship, is yet an essential part of it, he drew forth for his hearers the impalpable essence of interimperial co-operation: 'the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges, and equal protection . . . ties which though light as air are as strong as links of iron'. As an essential preliminary to reconciliation Burke, like Chatham, advocated the repeal of all legislation passed since 1763 which was disagreeable to the colonists.

Burke's plan conceded virtually everything demanded by the first Continental Congress. It did not merely put the clock back to 1763: it allowed also for the dynamic growth inherent in any healthy political system. Even a drift from dependence to voluntary partnership was compatible with its terms–an outcome Burke himself in 1775 was prepared to contemplate, though he did not think it imminent. Such a vision was far above the heads of the generality of British politicians. After 1773 the greater part of the British political nation had become convinced that a breach within the empire was likely, that it was consciously intended by an aggressive, dominant minority of colonial leaders, that only through the use of force might it still be prevented, and that failure to prevent it would spell the end of British prosperity and greatness.

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[6] *The Parliamentary History*, xviii, cols. 198-204.

[7] *Ibid.*, cols. 478-538.

The bitter fruits of these convictions were soon to be reaped. Within a month the revolutionary war had begun in Massachusetts. In mid-April Governor Gage at Boston received specific instructions to put down the rebellion in the colony. The essential stroke—arrest of the leaders of the provincial congress—was beyond his resources; but he decided to seize the main dump of rebel supplies in the village of Concord some sixteen miles away. On the outward march the British troops came into conflict with a small party of American militia at Lexington. Which side fired first is not certain; but the affair set Massachusetts aflame. The British column carried out its operations at Concord, but it was severely harassed and suffered heavy losses on its homeward march; and immediately an army of Massachusetts militia swarmed to the siege of Boston.

The response from leaders in other colonies was swift. Three weeks later, on May 10, 1775, in accordance with arrangements made the previous year, the second Continental Congress assembled at Philadelphia. In face of the outbreak of hostilities in Massachusetts, it quickly assumed the role of a revolutionary government bent on preparations for war. These were pressed forward with vigour in all the colonies. By early March 1776 the Americans were able to force a British withdrawal from Boston and had undertaken a partially successful invasion of Canada which gave them possession for some time of Montreal. Meanwhile British preparations for large-scale war were pushed forward strenuously during the winter of 1775-76, large numbers of troops were recruited, and others were obtained by subsidy treaties with various West German princes.

As a war situation developed, colonial sentiment moved in favour of independence. By the summer of 1776 British administration had everywhere been replaced by *ad hoc* provincial governments. In April Congress declared American ports open to all countries except Britain and advised the separate provinces to maintain or set up governments independent of imperial authority. On 4th July, it adopted the momentous resolution, that the colonies be declared independent. In measured language Thomas Jefferson, the chief draftsman of the Declaration, re-stated the Lockian theory of political association, the philosophical ground on which the Americans rested their case:

> We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

In twenty-seven brief and cogent sentences the Declaration listed the 'injuries and usurpations' inflicted upon Americans by the British Crown since the accession of George III, from the Revenue Act of 1764 to the recent coercive measures, and rolled towards its momentous conclusion:

> We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved. . . . And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.

For some at least of the men who made the decision, it was no easy one. Only after prolonged bitter disappointment, grief, and agony of spirit, did they feel compelled, in face of British obstinacy, to secede from the British community, of which they felt themselves in many ways so much a part. In October 1775 John Adams wrote to his wife:

> I saw from the beginning that the controversy was of such a nature that it never would be settled. . . . This has been the source of all the disquietude of my life. . . . The thought that we might be driven to the sad necessity of breaking our connection with Great Britain, exclusive of the carnage and destruction, which it was easy to see must attend the separation, always gave me a great deal of grief.

Much of what had made life worth living he would cheerfully give up to obtain peace and liberty: 'But all these must go and my life too, before I can surrender the right of my country to a free constitution.'[8] In similar vein Thomas Jefferson wrote:

> I am sincerely one of those, too, who would rather be in dependence on Great Britain, properly limited, than on any other nation on earth, or than on no nation. But I am one of those, too, who, rather than submit to the rights of legislating for us, assumed by the British parliament, and which late experience has shown they will so cruelly exercise, would lend my hand to sink the whole Island in the sea.[9]

Only the briefest account can here be given of the war, at the end of which the intentions of the Declaration of Independence were in fact secured.

The first serious British effort to recover control of the colonies did not take effect till mid-1776. At the same time as Congress was moving towards acceptance of the Declaration, substantial British forces were on their way across the Atlantic, and the first major blow was an occupation of New York in July by forces which before long totalled over 30,000 men. The securing of this great port and centre of loyalism was intended to be the prelude to the reduction of the New England provinces, but nothing further was accomplished this year except the occupation of Rhode Island. A small detachment found it impossible to raise effective loyalist support in the southern colonies. An attempted invasion of New England from Canada also came to a halt.

1777 was a year of decision, for it ended in a great American victory at Saratoga, the effects of which were in the long term conclusive. The British plan was for a substantial force to strike south from Canada under General Burgoyne, in order, by securing Albany in upper New York, to prepare the way for severing communications between New England and the other colonies. Had this operation been coordinated with a thrust up the Hudson by the army under General Howe at New York, the chances of a decisive British success would have been great. For the Americans control of the Hudson heights south of Albany was crucial. To defend this position their Continental army commanded by Washington might well have been drawn into a pitched battle in which its inferiority in numbers, arms, and training, and the lack of expertise of its officers from the commander downwards might have proved fatal. A coordinated push could hardly have failed to win the Hudson heights and draw a military cordon round New England. But the need for close coordination was not realized by any of the British ministers or commanding generals. The resistance Burgoyne was likely to encounter was grossly underestimated: it was thought he could reach and hold Albany without assistance. Howe at New York therefore saw no reason to defer his own pet scheme for the occupation of Philadelphia, and made matters worse by abandoning plans for a direct thrust through New Jersey in favour of a seaborne expedition which kept his army inoperative at sea and then isolated in southern Pennsylvania for many critical weeks. In consequence, although during 1777 the British secured control of Philadelphia and parts of New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware, they suffered a crushing loss by the destruction of Burgoyne's army at the hands of a numerically superior force of Continental troops and New England militia.[10]

Saratoga drove the ministry into offering real concessions, of a kind which, four years earlier, might have averted rebellion. The Tea Act and the Massachusetts Charter Act were repealed; by a declaratory Act Parliament renounced the use of its power to tax the colonies; a peace commission was appointed and a contingent repeal of the Prohibitory Act was enacted. The commissioners were empowered to offer if necessary all, and more than all, that had been demanded by the first Continental Congress, provided the Americans would return to their allegiance and accept parliamentary control of imperial trade. They were instructed to salvage what elements of British authority they could, but any terms short of independence might be accepted.

This offer came too late. Congress insisted upon independence—for by their victory they had secured a French alliance. Since 1763 the attention of French statesmen had been focused upon opportunities to restore French prestige and to pull down Great Britain from the position of ascendancy she had won at the Peace of Paris. They shared the British view, that the loss of the colonies would materially reduce British power, and with this purpose in view, starting early in 1776, an increasing measure of clandestine aid flowed across the Atlantic. Spain, allied to France by the Family Compact, followed suit. French supplies of arms and gunpowder were a vital factor in sustaining American resistance. After Saratoga France threw off the mask, entered into treaty relations with the United States, and accepted war with Britain as the inevitable consequence. A year later the Spanish, too, entered the conflict, with the recovery of Gibraltar as their major aim. No diplomatic counterstroke was open to the British government. British diplomatic isolation was a natural and inescapable situation in the 1770s. So long as France was not pressing upon the Low Countries and Germany, Britain had no natural allies on the Continent. France was in a perfect position for once, with no enemy on the Rhine. It was a position which her minister, Vergennes, was careful to maintain. He evaded current German entanglements, and he sought to make it plain, that France had no desire to destroy British power completely and face Europe with a new Bourbon ascendancy; the balance of power in Europe was not to be altered, but Britain was to have her wings clipped by the loss of her colonies.

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[8] *Familiar Letters of John Adams and his wife . . . during the Revolution*, ed. Charles Francis Adams (N.Y., 1876), p. 11.

[9] Marie Kimball, *Jefferson, The Road to Glory, 1743-1776* (N.Y., 1943), pp. 271-72.

[10] Important contributions to a reassessment of the reasons and responsibility for this British disaster are contained in G.S. Brown, *The American Secretary. The Colonial Policy of Lord George Germain, 1775-1778* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1963); Piers Mackesy, *The War for America, 1775-1783* (1964); and W. B. Willcox, *Portrait of a General. Sir Henry Clinton in the War of Independence* (N.Y., 1964).

The immediate American gain from the French alliance was the recovery of Philadelphia and Rhode Island: the British withdrew from both in order to find troops to counter the French threat in the West Indies, and also launched a probe into Georgia which achieved considerable success. The long-term gain lay in the eventual military support, which arrived in 1780, and in the strain placed on the British navy. British naval strength was stretched still further when a third maritime power was drawn into the alliance against her. A vital British concern was the interception of Baltic naval stores and other war supplies shipped to her enemies in neutral bottoms. Most of this neutral carrying trade was in Dutch hands. In 1780 the Empress Catherine of Russia formed an association of Baltic powers, known as the 'Armed Neutrality', to protect neutral shipping rights. The merchant fleets of its members were of little importance. But if the Dutch secured its protection, British pressure on her foes would be seriously checked, and at the end of the year, to forestall this event, the British government declared war on a set of trumped-up charges against the United Provinces. All these developments meant that, from 1778 onwards, for critical periods, the British lost naval control in American waters, in the end with decisive effects.

During 1778 and 1779 both Britain and France were concerned mainly with the campaigns in the West Indies. Although the pressure on the Americans was relieved, they received little direct support from their French allies. But to the British the West Indies was merely a diversion, and as soon as possible they redirected their efforts to the American continent. In 1780 the war of independence momentarily took a new turn with the British capture of Charleston and the apparent subjugation of most of South Carolina as well as Georgia. It was a deceptive triumph, however, for American guerilla operations were sustained by help from the north, and the general left in command, Earl Cornwallis, found it impossible to ease the situation by any effective blow to the northward. In 1781 he attempted to secure control of North Carolina and Virginia. At the critical moment a French fleet moved into the Chesapeake cutting his communications with New York. At Yorktown his troops were hemmed in against the York River by a superior French and American force under Washington without hope of reinforcement or relief, and by his capitulation the last British army available for offensive operations in America was lost. The blow was decisive. Within a few months a majority of members of parliament had become convinced that the recovery of the colonies by force was impossible, the King, despite his stubborn resolution against yielding, had to give way, and a new ministry composed of leaders of the opposition to the war took office, pledged to secure peace, if necessary by the recognition of American independence. Peace on this basis was negotiated during the autumn of 1782, early in the next year hostilities were suspended by a general armistice, and on 3rd September 1783 were signed the definitive treaties which formally signalized the separation of the independent United States from the British Empire.

The British had lost. But competent historians have expressed the view that in the early stages at least they might have won.[11] In 1775 there was still a great fund of loyal feeling in the colonies. In America the war of independence was a real civil war: many thousands of loyalists served George III in militia units, provincial regiments, or as recruits in the regular army, and fought with a fratricidal fury rarely shown by the British and German regulars. The seizure of New York in 1776 gave the British the important strategic advantage of interior lines of communication, by land or by sea, all round the crucial arc between Boston and the Virginia tidewater. During the next eighteen months errors of execution rather than an utter lack of resources for the task were the main reasons for defeat. The two most fatal were, first, the failure to pursue a sound and vigorous strategy which would force Washington and the Continental army into pitched battle on unfavourable terms in which they would be destroyed or else be reduced to complete impotence; and second, the failure to take only ground that could be held and to hold ground once taken, for the consequence was the sacrifice of the loyalists in one province after another to rebel vengeance, the destruction of their power such as it was (it was never so great as the government believed), and, more important, the demonstration to the wavering, uncommitted section of the population that it was better to go along with the rebels. Had military skill and boldness gained major successes quickly in the middle colonies, where loyalists were numerous, it is possible that the heart might have gone out of the rebellion: unless this happened, there was little chance of any regular army the British could produce overcoming the *levée en masse* which would otherwise have met it in New England. But the possibility was never tested. The ministers at home failed to understand the urgency, mainly because they consistently underestimated the extent of rebel sentiment and overestimated the strength of the loyalists. And even had they grasped it, the senior British military commanders were not the men to respond. In fighting spirit they were far inferior to the American officers who opposed them. The consequences of mismanagement were fatal. British and loyalist morale gradually fell while that of the rebels rose. Failure to control a large enough area from which food and other essential requirements could be obtained meant that enormous effort had to be diverted into supplying the British forces from England and Ireland, and by 1782 the war must have ground to a halt in any event, for the country's shipping resources were stretched beyond the limit.[12]

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[11] See Piers Mackesy, pp. 510 seq., and the very full analysis in E. Robson, *The American Revolution, 1763-1783* (1955). Chapters V, VI, and VII.

Even had the British won the war in America the political problem would have remained acute. A settlement on British terms would have left unsatisfied deep-seated American aspirations, further sharpened as these would have been by the struggle. And even if the situation could have been kept under control for the time being, for how long would this have been possible? The population of the colonies was doubling itself about every thirty years—a far higher rate of increase than that in the mother country. There were no population-statistics in the eighteenth century, but the general trend was clearly recognized. The significance of this dynamic aspect of the colonial problem appears entirely to have escaped the attention of the ministers. Time and again they said in effect: 'We must assert British authority now, or it will be too late.' But they failed to face the problem, how this authority was to be maintained under foreseeable future conditions. The object for which they led their country into war was, in the long run, incapable of fulfilment. Herein lay an ultimate proof of their lack of statesmanship.

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[12] This last point emerges clearly from a study of this shipping problem by Mr. D. Syrett, to whom I am grateful for this information.

APPENDIX

"English Methods of Teaching American History," Chapter XLIV of *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1894–95*

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